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ABSTRACT

A cross-cultural study of conversational politeness in Chinese and English as a foreign language is presented. The primary goals of the study were to make a systematic comparison of politeness rules and conversational strategies used in each language, to identify and analyze the actual communicative problems of cross-cultural communication occurring among Chinese learners of English and American learners of Chinese, and to develop a model for teaching conversational interaction and politeness strategies in the foreign language classroom. In addition, the close relationship between language and its social settings and the relevance of sociolinguistics and pragmatics to the teaching and learning of a foreign language are highlighted. After an introductory section, chapters discuss the following: a framework for examining politeness in conversation and its relevance and constraint on the choice of syntactic structures and lexical items in an utterance; linguistic strategies commonly used for politeness; cases of polite language usage (forms of address, compliment responses, greetings, and requests and rejections); the results of the study of cross-cultural pragmatic failure; and implications for the teaching of conversational interaction and politeness strategies. Appended materials include a 14-page bibliography in English and Chinese, survey instruments, and common formulaic expressions and gambits in Chinese and English. (MSE)

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Conversational Politeness and Foreign Language Teaching

Yu-hwei E. Lii-Shih

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Preface

My interest in conversational politeness and cross-cultural communication was originally initiated by a course entitled 'Language and Culture', and later reinforced by another course 'Sociolinguistics', which I have been teaching since 1978 and 1984 respectively. These two courses have made me increasingly sensitive to the social and linguistic behavior of the people around me. I have also learned a great deal from my students in these two courses. Their questions and observations have sharpened my observations and insight and have enriched my knowledge. The motivation for my suggestion to incorporate sociocultural knowledge and politeness strategies of conversation into foreign language courses stems from my prior experiences of teaching English in high school and current college experiences, and particularly from my personal experience as an English learner. Like me, many of my students often feel uneasy or tongue-tied while carrying on a conversation in English with a foreigner. We are often at a loss as to when to talk, when not to talk, what to say, what not to say, and how to say it. As far as I know, it seems that under the influence of the grammatical approach and the pressure of the joint entrance examination system in Taiwan, nobody really cares about learning or teaching real oral communicative skills. However, I think it is the responsibility of foreign language courses and language teachers to train students to be able to express themselves properly and interpret others' utterances accurately in the most basic and prevalent form of language—daily conversation.

I would like to thank my former teachers and colleagues who have given me support and encouragement and filled out questionnaires. I am very grateful to Professor Jeffery C. Tung for his many valuable suggestions and comments, and Professor Roland C. Chang for his suggestion about the method of transcription for Mandarin Chinese. I am indebted to Professor He Chou and other staff members in the Chinese Department of NTNU for background information as well as their views about the Chinese concept of Li (禮) 'rites, ceremony and etiquette'. Many thanks are due to my American friends: Cornelius C. Kubler, Jack Estes, David Gourd, Karen Gourd, Robyne Tiedman, Edward Trager, Robert Allen, Rebecca Allen and Dorothy Conyers, who acted as my informants, providing information about American culture and the formulaic expressions commonly used in social interaction. I also owe a great deal to many Chinese teachers at the Mandarin Training Center of NTNU, especially Professor De-ming Yeh, who furnished me with abundant data about common Chinese social expressions used in daily conversation and their observations about American students' performance in Mandarin Chinese. My greatest debt is to Professor Andrea G. Osburne of Central Connecticut State University for assisting me in the distribution of hundreds of questionnaires to her students, friends, and family in America, and rendering valuable comments on part of my draft. I would also like to thank Dr. Cornelius C. Kubler, Dr. Shou-hsin Teng and my friends at the Mandarin Training Center for helping me collect data from American students. My hearty thanks are due to those people who patiently filled out the long and tedious questionnaires and supplied the roleplay data. Without their help, this study would have been impossible. Finally I want to thank my husband Cheng-yi Lii for his patience and encouragement during the process of making this study a reality.

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Chapter I

Introduction

This is a cross-cultural sociolinguistic study of conversational politeness in Chinese and English and its pedagogical application to the teaching of Chinese or English as a foreign language.

1.1 The scope and goals of the study

The primary goals of this study are: first, to make a systematic comparison of politeness rules and conversational strategies utilized in Chinese and English; and then to identify and analyze the actual communicative problems of cross-cultural communication occurring among Chinese learners of English and American learners of Chinese; and finally to develop a model for teaching conversational interaction and politeness strategies in the foreign language classroom. In addition, I hope to demonstrate through this study the close relationship between language and its social settings and the relevance of sociolinguistics and pragmatics to the teaching and learning of a foreign language.

The reason that I chose conversation as the focus of this study is that conversation is the primary means of interpersonal linguistic communication, and it is a key to a better understanding of what language is and how it works. Through conversational analysis, we may discover some factors or constraints underlying the structure of language which have long been neglected due to the former linguistic bias toward formalism.

Conversation is a rule-governed, interpersonal communication activity. It involves at least two interlocutors, a speaker (S) and an addressee (H), engaging in a give-and-take transmission of messages. Successful communication in a conversation means that the speaker conveys his meaning and intention accurately, and the addressee understands and interprets the message exactly as the speaker intends. This sounds easy, but in actual social interaction, problems of communication, such as incomprehension and misunderstanding, occur frequently. This is mainly due to the fact that conversation is not a straightforward sentence-for-sentence exchange, but rather sometimes involves problem-solving or guesswork based on shared knowledge or world view, and the addressee occasionally has to use 'conversational implicature' to read between lines in order to get the intended message. In order to ensure successful communication, the interlocutors have to share not only the same linguistic competence but also the same sociocultural rules of language use, so-called 'communicative competence'.

Conversation is also a goal-oriented, cooperative speech act. When people are engaged in a conversation, they normally have one or more of the following goals of communication in mind: to convey information, to establish or reinforce social relationships, to express emotion, or direct the activities of other people. In order to accomplish these goals, the speaker needs the cooperation of the addressee. The most effective means to ensure an addressee's cooperation is through the use of politeness strategies. Politeness strategies function like traffic rules which can help clear obstacles and ensure that communication flows smoothly. Politeness is a very important factor in the construction of conversational utterances, for no matter how clearly a message is conveyed, if the utterance is not conveyed in the proper manner, it may not be accepted by the addressee. To be polite in conversation means to say the right thing to the right person at the right time in the right manner, and thus make others feel happy and at ease. In essence, a polite speech act is one which pays respect to the other's 'face' (i.e. one's public self-image). Politeness is one of the major functional constraints on the choice or construction of a linguistic form in a conversation.

In spite of the importance of conversational analysis and politeness strategies in communication, they have not received much attention in the field of linguistics until recently. To date, very few studies on systematic cross-cultural comparison of conversational politeness have been implemented, though they are essential to the improvement of intercultural communication and the teaching and learning of a foreign language.

After receiving many years of formal instruction in foreign language courses, many learners still have no confidence in face-to-face communication, in spite of the fact that they may have a pretty good command of grammatical structures. In the hope that the present cross-cultural study of conversational politeness may shed some light and make some contribution to the teaching of conversational strategies, I conducted a survey of the current teaching methods and materials utilized in English and Chinese language courses in Taiwan. In addition, I also collected data related to foreign language learners' inappropriate language usage in social interaction. Based on these surveys and pragmatic problem analysis plus the cross-cultural analysis of conversational politeness, I have made some suggestions as to how to adopt the communicative approach in a conversation class.

In this study I also make a comparison of the Chinese and American social structures and cultural values to interpret the underlying elements of the norms of politeness in these two cultures. However, I am aware of the tremendous heterogeneity of every culture and have tried to be cautious in the interpretation of cultural behavior. Thus, when I say 'Chinese normally address...' or 'Americans prefer that...' this does not mean all Chinese or Americans but rather most Chinese or Americans. When I refer to Chinese culture or American culture I am referring to, in sociological terms, the dominant culture, that is the general cultural patterns or norms observed by the majority of the people, without including the variations of thoughts, behavior, and values of all people. The terms Chinese and English referred to in this study are Mandarin Chinese and American English, respectively.

1.2 Theoretical background

This study is basically a sociolinguistic study with some additions from pragmatics, anthropology, sociology and speech act theory. The pedagogical framework is primarily based on the communicative approach.

Sociolinguistics is the study of language in relation to society, or 'a description of language which takes into account a far from ideal hearer/speaker and seeks to account for the rules of linguistic variability, be they social, regional, cultural, gender, register, or stylistic variation' (Paulston 1984, p.7).

Sociolinguistics as a defined, labelled, and self-conscious field of study is a very recent phenomenon, developing only since the mid 1960's. Today it has become a popular and familiar subject in linguistics. Prior to the 1960's, the term sociolinguistics had hardly ever been heard. The mainstream of linguistics before the late 1960's was dominated by structural grammar and transformational grammar. For the structuralists, linguistics means phonetics, phonemics, and morphophonemics, with syntax occupying a peripheral position. Transformational grammar treats syntax as the center of linguistic analysis. However, meaning, especially that related to social factors, is not treated. They confine their study of language to the competence of the idealized native speaker/hearer in a homogeneous community where no variation or variety of language ever exists. They 'maintain the integrity of linguistics, as within a walled city, away from contaminating influences of use and context' (Leech 1983, p.3).

Although the term sociolinguistics is quite new, the study of speech as part of social interaction has a long tradition. It has been in progress for a long time under many different disciplines, including psychology, sociology, anthropology, philosophy, and language teaching. Among these, the most important contributions to sociolinguistics have come from some anthropologists such as Malinowski (1923) and Hymes (1962, 1964, 1971), sociologists such as Goffman (1967) and Schegloff (1972), and philosophers such as Austin (1962), Grice (1968), and Searle (1969). Hymes proposed the concept of communicative competence. Goffman introduced the idea of 'face-work' in social interaction. Austin and Searle view speech acts as ways of doing things with words, and claim that every genuine speech act has both locutionary meaning and illocutionary force. Other linguists, such as Labov (1972a), Bolinger (1975), and R. Lakoff (1974), all argued that syntax could not be adequately studied out of social contexts. These different disciplines together formed a strong foundation for sociolinguistics.

Chomsky's explicit distinction between 'competence' and 'performance' and regarding a native speaker's knowledge of his language as being only able to produce and understand unlimited grammatical sentences have invited a strong reaction in the fields of linguistics and language teaching. It is a well-known fact that knowing a language involves not only a knowledge of the formal properties of the language as a system, but also a knowledge of how this system is put to use in the performance of social actions of different kinds. Dissatisfied with Chomsky's theory, Hymes (1972) argues that knowledge of a language includes more than 'linguistic competence' but also 'communicative competence', that is, the ability to use the language appropriately in a given social context. In the linguistic literature, the term 'communicative competence' is sometimes referred to as 'sociolinguistic competence' or 'pragmatic competence' with a slight difference in focus, while the term 'linguistic competence' is often used alternatively with the term 'grammatical competence' without much differentiation. In this study 'grammatical competence' and 'communicative competence' are the most frequently used terms, but occasionally I use the other terms depending on the specific focus of the discussion.

Conversational analysis is in its infancy. Until very recently, most of the advances in conversational analysis have come from outside linguistics, especially from sociologists, such as Sacks, Schegloff, Garfinkel and Sudnow, who see conversational analysis as a means of dealing with the details of social interaction in a rigorous, empirical and formal way. Their findings have made a great contribution to the linguistic study of conversation and spoken discourse. Recently more linguistic works have been devoted to conversational interaction and spoken discourse, for example, Coulthard (1977), Schenkein (1978), Edmondson (1981) and Coulmas (1981). Now 'nobody will deny that the status of spoken language as a Distinguished Object of linguistic research has improved greatly when compared to the times when grammar had to be formal to be recognized by a respectable linguist' (Coulmas 1981).

Politeness is one aspect of language which can best exemplify the close bond between language and society. A verbal exchange is not only an exchange of information, it is also a social and personal interaction. Besides linguistic meaning, it also conveys social meaning, such as personal relationship, relative status, social formality, and the speaker's attitude toward the addressee. The theoretical background for the present study on conversational politeness is, with slight modification, mainly based on Brown and Levinson's framework (1978). Grice's (1968) concepts of 'cooperative principle' and 'conversational implicature', Leech's (1983) maxims of politeness and R. Lakoff's (1974) description of politeness have also had a great impact on the formalization of the 'Rules of Clarity' and 'Rules of Politeness' in my work. Aside from these, Neustupný's (1968) and Ueda's (1974) studies on politeness phenomena in Japanese have given me some insight into dealing with politeness in Chinese. For a systematic comparison of cultural structures and values, I owe a great deal to Condon and Yousef (1975), J. Hsu (1980) and F. Hsu (1981).

Foreign language teaching approaches have been progressing hand in hand with the development of linguistic theories. Structural grammar formed the theoretical basis of the audiolingual approach, and transformational grammar that of the cognitive approach. Recent developments in sociolinguistics, pragmatics, and Hymes' theory of communicative competence have shifted foreign language teaching from a 'grammatical' or 'structural' approach to the 'communicative' approach, and have thus greatly stressed the importance of teaching communicative strategies and the functional use of language. The teaching approach and techniques underlying the discussion in Chapter 6 mainly follow the communicative approach.

1.3 Data and methodology

The methodology of sociolinguistic study generally follows this process: first, collect and analyze relevant data, second, utilize the existent theories as frames of reference for the conduct of research, and finally, revise such theories in the light of the result of the research. It should be empirical research, not based on mere conjectures, personal opinions or prejudices.

Sociolinguistic data are ubiquitous, so one can collect them almost anywhere. There is a wide variety of methods for data collection: structured and informal observations, surveys, experiments, interviews and questionnaires. The biggest problem in collecting data is how to obtain samples of natural speech. As we know, interviewed speech is sometimes unnatural or more formal than spontaneous speech; reported speech (e.g. responses to questionnaires) is not necessarily truthful speech; and a hidden tape recorder or video-tape camera is not easily accessible and sometimes illegal. Moreover, it often takes tens or hundreds of hours to replay the tape and transcribe the data. So designing a method to elicit and record natural speech has become a central issue of sociolinguistic study, and William Labov, for one, has devised a number of ingenious methods for obtaining natural responses (1972a). Methodologies for gathering sociolinguistic data may vary from person to person depending on the nature of the research, the scope of the topic and the size of sample required. The most important thing is that the researcher should devise a method or methods which can gather quality data relevant to the objectives of his study and deal with those data carefully and systematically.

The bulk of data on which this study is based were collected beginning in the summer of 1980 and ending in December 1984. They were obtained from the following sources: questionnaires, interviews, my own observations of the speech around me and on

TV shows, and also reports of other linguists' works. My reason for using different sources was to collect as a large amount of data as possible to illustrate different levels and varieties of language politeness, and to try to avoid unnatural or inaccurate data from single sources. Among these, questionnaires formed the major data source. They were sent to Chinese all over the island of Taiwan and to Americans in Taiwan and in the United States. There were approximately two thousand questionnaire responses. After conducting a preliminay analysis, I gave a lecture on 'Conversational Politeness in Chinese and English' to teachers at the Mandarin Training Center of National Taiwan Normal University on October 16, 1984, and the same lecture to American students at the American Institute in Taiwan Chinese Language and Area Studies School at Yang-ming Shan, Taipei, on November 27, 1984. After the lecture I asked the audience to make written comments on the content of the lecture and the accuracy of my observations concerning politeness phenomena in Chinese and English. I am very grateful that most of them sent me their comments. Most of the respondents agreed with my observations and some made additional helpful remarks on certain aspects which were missing from the lecture. From their responses I gained confidence and also made some slight modifications of my analysis.

Since the present study is mainly concerned with a large scale comparison of polite language usage in Chinese and English, the collected data were used to calculate general patterns of politeness strategies, and thus few detailed statistical reports are given. However, in a few place, tables indicating patterns of certain instances of polite language are presented. These data were very useful for the classification of different types of politeness strategies and supply natural and interesting examples of speech. These data should prove useful as a teaching reference or textbook source material.

In order to carry on a cross-cultural pragmatic failure analysis for Chapter 5, I also collected some Chinese learners' and American leaners' inappropriate language usage in conversation. A detailed description of the data collection and research methodology for the pragmatic failure analysis is presented in 5.2.

The Yale system is adopted for transcription of Mandarin Chinese in this study. Because the Chinese characters are given, the tone marks are omitted. The following abbreviations are employed throughout the study:

S: speaker

H: addressee

FSA: face-satisfying-act

FTA: face-threatening-act

L_1: first language

L_2: foreign language

PF: pragmatic failure

Chapter II

The Framework

A conversation is an interpersonal speech activity. It involves at least two speakers interacting in a give-and-take process of communication. It is also a coherent, well-structured piece of discourse, which involves an opening, a proper topic nomination, topic development, topic clarification, topic shifting, interruption and topic termination, and is balanced by appropriate turn-takings. During the process, each speaker utilizes his grammatical competence and follows conversational rules to make him produce not only grammatical sentences but also utterances that are clear, relevant to the topic, and most importantly, socially acceptable as well as polite. Ideally, the interlocutors in a conversation should express their meaning clearly without ambiguity. But very often they do not say what they mean or mean what they say; sometimes they say something nonsensical for the sake of avoiding an awkward silence; or they may have a lot to say but refrain from saying anything. The reason for their doing so is normally for the sake of politeness. Therefore, unless the interlocutors share the same set of conversational rules, especially the rules of politeness, and are familiar with the linguistic strategies for realizing these rules, they may have difficulty communicating with each other. This is particularly true in cross-cultural communication.

In this chapter we are going to discuss the concept of politeness in conversation and its relevance and constraint on the choice of syntactic structures and lexical items in an utterance. In addition, we will try to present a framework for the description and comparison of conversational politeness in different languages. Other aspects of conversational analysis, such as discourse structure and turn-takings, are also very important and interesting. However, for the purposes of cross-cultural communication and foreign language learning, politeness rules and strategies are probably more important and should be dealt with first. With a comparison of conversational politeness in Chinese and English, we also hope to be able to discover the universal factors underlying politeness phenomena and the culture-specific and language-specific features of politeness which create the differences between languages.

2.1 Conversational rules

Conversation is a goal-oriented, cooperative social behavior. While engaged in a verbal interaction, the participants normally would try to be cooperative and follow the rules of conversation in order to attain the goals of communication, whether for information, social ties, or the accomplishment of some task.

Before we proceed to a discussion of conversational rules, we will make the following assumption. A competent adult speaker is supposed to be a 'rational face-endowed being', which means he is a fluent speaker of a language and is endowed with rationality and face (cf. Brown and Levinson 1978, p.63). 'Rationality' means that a competent speaker possesses a precise mode of reasoning from means to ends. And a 'face-endowed being' is one endowed with 'face', i.e. self-respect or public self-image. A rational face-endowed being is thus one who knows how to reason and use linguistic strategies to meet communicative and face-oriented ends. With this assumption made, we are freed from the irrational cases of conversation (which are possible in real communication), and are able to deal with the norms of conversational politeness.

A competent adult native speaker possesses conversational rules (or 'conversational competence'), which enable him to produce appropriate utterances and interpret the right message in a conversation. Conversational rules are made up of two major categories:

(1) Rules of Clarity
(2) Rules of Politeness

Rules of Clarity mean that the participants in a conversation normally make cooperative efforts to make the message clear. The characteristics of these rules are explained clearly in Grice's Conversational Maxims (Grice 1968, pp. 45-46):[1]

1. Quantity:
   - a. Make your contribution as informative as is required.
   - b. Do not make your contribution more informative than necessary.

2. Quality: 'Try to make your contribution one that is true'.
   - a. Do not say what you believe to be false.
   - b. Do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence.

3. Relation: Be relevant.

4. Manner: 'Be perspicuous'.
   - a. Avoid obscurity of expression.
   - b. Avoid ambiguity.
   - c. Be brief (avoid unnecessary prolixity).
   - d. Be orderly.

If the purpose of conversation is only for the communication of information, then the above rules should be sufficient as rules of conversation. However, in face-to-face social interactions, deviations from Grice's Maxims are not uncommon. A conversation strictly adhering to these maxims would be unbearable to engage in or to listen to. Imagine how would one react to a clear utterance like any of the following three from someone who is younger or lower in status:

1. Shut the window.

2. Lend me your car.

3. Don't do it.

The message is clear but it is hard to take, and as a result the speaker may have difficulty obtaining the result he wants. In actual communication, the above three utterances are often rephrased in a more polite way, like the following:

4. Could you please close the window?

5. Do you mind my borrowing your car (for just an hour)?

6. If I were you I would not do it.

Utterances (4)-(6) are following the Rules of Politeness but violating the Rules of Clarity for the purpose of reducing friction. Rules of Clarity and Rules of Politeness are sometimes compatible, but very often they contradict each other. Under such circumstances, which type of rules takes precedence over the other? It depends on many factors, such as the topic of the conversation, the seriousness or urgency of the information, the social context, and the interpersonal relationship involved. In a business conversation, Rules of Clarity, for example, take precedence over those of Politeness for the sake of a clearer message, but in a social interaction, Rules of Politeness normally surpass those of Clarity because a message, no matter how clear it may be, has little chance of being accepted, unless it is conveyed politely. Even in a business talk, however, Rules of Politeness are very important, if the speaker wants to have his task accomplished.

According to Grice (1968), Rules of Clarity form a subcategory of the Cooperative Principle, which means that in conversation every competent speaker should try to be cooperative in following the Rules of Clarity so as to make the message clear. If one violates the rules, there must be some reason for doing so, and the addressee will try to infer the real meaning from the immediate context, their shared background, or other clues. For example, if A says, 'What time is it?' and B answers, 'Well, the postman's been by already', then A assumes that what B said was rationally oriented to what was asked and will derive from B's utterance the inference that it is past 11 a.m.[2] This kind of inference based on the assumptions of Rules of Clarity is what Grice calls 'conversational implicature'. 'Conversational implicature' is part of a native speaker's communicative competence, which enables him to interpret what are seemingly irrelevant utterances yet are following Rules of Politeness or other rules (e.g. metaphor and irony)[3]. Below are two examples given by Leech (1983, p.93 & p.94) to illustrate how B uses a seemingly irrelevant reply to avoid making a direct accusation for the sake of politeness and how A uses 'conversational implicature' to interpret the message:

7. A: I've lost a diamond ring.

B: Well, Julie was wearing $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{a diamond ring}\\ \text{one}\end{array}\right\}$ this morning.

8. A: Where's my box of chocolates?

B: The children were in your room this morning.

2.2 'Face' and 'face wants'

As a social being, every individual desires to be accepted by others, to be treated with respect, dignity and intimacy, to be noticed for his accomplishment, to be appreciated for his kindness, and so forth. These desires or wants are the 'face wants' (a term originated by Brown and Levinson 1978) which every member of the society wants to claim for himself in order to have 'face'. 'Face' and 'face wants' are products of men's social nature.

Here, the word 'face' originates from the Chinese lyan (臉) and myan-dz (面子), which appeared as early as the fourth century B.C.[4] It refers to one's dignity, self-respect, feeling, and social esteem in front of other people. The concept of 'face', however, is not unique to Chinese society. It is found in many other cultures including those of the United States. There have been quite a few studies done on the concept of 'face' (for example, Hu 1944, Ho 1975, Brown and Levinson 1978, Goffman 1967, and Huang 1984). These studies confirm the fact that 'face' is a universal concept.

'Face' is a social product which is accorded by others. Although the gain or loss of 'face' can be decided by one's own conduct, eventually it is determined and judged by others. 'Any individual must rely on others to complete a picture of him, of which he himself is allowed to paint only certain parts' (Goffman 1967, p.84). 'Face' can be given, gained, saved, maintained, preserved or lost in social interactions. The maintenance of 'face', though extremely important to every social being, is vulnerable and is dependent on others' cooperation. Therefore, (for the sake of both parties) every person cooperates in satisfying and maintaining each other's 'face', except in those cases where efficiency or emergency takes priority or social relations break down.

'Face wants', or the content of 'face', are positive social values that every member of the society likes or wants to claim for himself with the approval of others in a social context. They include such values as deference, intimacy, agreement, appreciation, and so forth. The exact items of 'face wants' may vary from culture to culture, and from person to person. Yet on the whole, they are quite similiar among people and cultures, since they fulfill basic psychological and social needs of human beings. Below are some basic 'face wants' of human beings in social interactions.

a. deference
b. modesty
c. formality
d. intimacy
e. respect of privacy
f. praise
g. agreement, approval
h. appreciation
i. concern, care
j. generosity (and ungreediness)

k. equality

l. status

m. sincerity

n. unimpediment

o. acceptance

Some 'face wants' may be in conflict with others. For example, intimacy is in conflict with formality, and modesty might be in conflict with appreciation or agreement (see 4.2) . Choice among them is determined by the situation, the type of speech act, the degree of intimacy, and most important of all, the cultural values. Most of the 'face wants' are equivalent to the cultural values respected highly within a society. The rating or the relative importance among those 'face wants' may vary in different cultures. For example, in one culture deference may be valued more highly than intimacy, while in another culture it may be the opposite. To be polite in a culture, one simply has to know which 'face wants' are valued more highly in general and in specific social contexts.

It is found in this study that many differences in politeness strategies between American English and Chinese are due to differences in the importance attributed to specific 'face wants' in the two cultures.

2.3 Rules of Politeness

While dealing with others, it is inevitable that certain speech acts may run contrary to the addressee's 'face wants', (or sometimes the speaker's own 'face wants') and thus threaten his 'face'. These kinds of speech acts are called 'Face-Threatening-Acts' (FTA henceforth; cf. Brown and Levinson 1978, p.65). For example, a request can be an FTA to H, because it threatens H's desire of being unimpeded by others; using a 'familiar' address form to a superior can cause an FTA because of the violation of the superior's want to be treated with deference; and disagreement is an FTA too for its violation of the 'face want' of agreement. An FTA is intrinsically an unpleasant act to the person affected; therefore if one does an FTA baldly without making any effort to soften or minimize the threat by means of some linguistic strategies, such as indirectness or hesitation, it is regarded as an impolite speech behavior. On the other hand, some speech acts, such as accepting a request willingly or making an offer or a compliment, may satisfy the 'face wants' of the addressee, thus making the addressee happy. These kinds of speech acts are referred to as 'Face-Satisfying-Acts' (FSA). If one does an FSA sincerely, it is regarded as polite speech behavior. The absence of doing an FSA can be regarded as impolite behavior. For example, if one comes across his friend on the street without greeting his friend, he is regarded as impolite. We may summarize the Rules of Politeness as:

R1: Do FSAs sincerely.

R2: Don't do FTAs.

R3: If one has to do an FTA, minimize it with redressive actions.

If one fulfills R1, he is observing the positive politeness, and if one fulfills R2 and R3, he is observing negative politeness.[5] Since the absence of doing an FTA, like the absence of doing an FSA, involves no utilization of linguistic strategies, it will not receive much attention in the present study. We will concentrate on how to carry out R1 and R3.

An FSA is beneficial to H, but an FTA is a cost to H. If a speech act is beneficial to H, usually one can go ahead and do it directly but he has to be careful to choose the right 'face want' (e.g. deference or intimacy) to accompany the given social context, and to select an appropriate linguistic strategy to satisfy H's 'face want'. If an act is a cost to H, one has to be very careful not to offend the addressee. The safest way is not to do it at all, but if one has to do it, he must do it indirectly and subtly to allow H a way out. He should avoid committing himself too deeply or coercing the addressee too far.

2.4 Strategies for doing FSAs and FTAs

Since an FSA (face-satisfying-act) is a speech act beneficial to the addressee (H), normally it can be done directly and clearly (e.g. Have some tea), while an FTA, being a cost to H, usually has to be performed more tactfully and indirectly in order to soften the threatening force. The direct and clear strategies are called bald on-record strategies and the indirect ones can be further divided into indirect on-record strategies and off-record strategies.[6] These three types of strategies can be diagrammed according to the degree of directness as:

1. Bald on-record strategies	directness
2. Indirect on-record strategies	↕
3. Off-record strategies	indirectness

An off-record speech act is indirect and ambiguous. It usually involves a hint, a metaphor, or some kind of beat-around-the-bush statement. For example, instead of saying, 'Can I borrow some money from you?', I may use an off-record strategy by saying, 'Gee! I forgot to bring money with me, and I have to buy a birthday present for my father today.' An indirect on-record strategy is a compromise strategy which is indirect in the linguistic form, yet unambiguous in the message. For example, if I say, 'Could you mail the letter for me?', the interrogative sentence pattern shows linguistic indirectness, but the message of the request is clear. This kind of indirectness is often referred to as 'conventional indirectness' (Brown and Levinson 1978, p.137), and is the most frequently used politeness strategy. A bald on-record speech act is one which is clear and direct both in linguistic form and meaning. It is most suitable for doing an FSA. When doing an FSA, usually the more direct an utterance, the higher degree of politeness and sincerity it conveys. Doing an FTA with a bald on-record strategy could be very impolite, unless it is in the case of emergency (e.g. Help! Help!), or when talking to someone with whom there exists a close relationship, especially to someone younger or of lower status. Therefore, the choice of degree of directness in a speech act is essentially determined by the cost-benefit scale. The degree of politeness in imperative sentences may vary according to the cost-benefit scale, as reflected in the following sentences:

(1) Peel these potatoes.	cost to H	less polite
(2) Hand me the newspaper.	↑	↑
(3) Sit down.		
(4) Look at that.		
(5) Enjoy your holiday.	↓	↓
(6) Have another sandwich.	benefit to H	more polite

(From Leech 1983, p.107)

The degree of directness is also determined by the size of the imposition. Goffman's (1967) notion of 'free' and 'non-free' goods provides a good illustration of the different degrees of imposition. 'Free goods' are those which in a given situation a person can use without seeking permission, for example, salt and pepper in a restaurant (provided he is having a meal in that restaurant then). Matches are 'nearly free' in most situations. The concept of 'free goods' varies according to situation, relationship, and culture. However, generally if something is regarded as 'free goods' between H and S, it makes no imposition on H. S can go ahead and use it without seeking permission or he may use some conventional polite indirect strategy to show his good manners. Lakoff (1974) has pointed out that 'free' and 'non-free' goods are not necessarily material--the concept can be extended to information. Information which is regarded as too personal (e.g. age and income) is 'non-free' goods. If one has to ask about it he has to resort to a high degree of indirect strategy plus an apology to reduce the face-threatening force.

2.5 The social variables of language politeness

Besides considering whether a speech act is an FTA or an FSA and the degree of cost and benefit involved, the choice of a linguistic strategy to fulfill politeness is also determined by many social variables. Among them, the most important are (1) the social distance between S and H, (2) the relative power of S and H, (3) the formality of the social context, and (4) the ranking (or importance) of a 'face want' in a culture.

The social distance between S and H decides the degree of solidarity or intimacy between S and H. People of close relationship tend to use intimate forms to address each other and resort to less indirect strategies when making an FTA (e.g. making a request).

Power, a term initiated by Brown and Gilman (1960), refers to the power one has over another because he is of higher status or is older in age. In this study, those with higher status are called 'superiors', those with lower status are called 'subordinates', those who are older in age are called 'elders', and those who are younger in age are called 'juniors'. In social interactions, normally the superior or the elder receives the deferential form from the subordinate or the junior, and the latter receives a familiar form in return. People with similar status or age are called 'equals', who normally treat each other with deferential forms reciprocally, or with familiar forms reciprocally, depending on their social distance. As a matter of fact, power is a kind of social distance too, but a vertical one, while solidarity is a horizontal social distance. Poeple with some social distance, either vertically or horizontally, usually treat each other deferentially or formally. As for the selection between direct and indirect strategies, the one with more power usually uses a direct strategy, and the one with less power normally employs an indirect strategy.

People do not always speak in the same style in all situations. They vary the style according to the social context. On formal or public occasions, they may use a formal style of language and treat each other more formally and deferentially; while in casual or private situations, they will adopt a casual or intimate style, and treat each other with a greater degree of intimacy and a lesser degree of formality. As Chaika (1982, p.29) says, 'Style gives its own messages'; a wrong use of style or form in a given social context may be very impolite, and thus offend people. For example, in a formal conference, a person using vulgar, informal speech and addressing the participants with intimate forms of address is impolite. On the contrary, if a husband talks to his wife in a formal style, he may upset her.

'Face wants' have different rankings in different cultures. For example, in China deference and modesty are highly regarded, and may surpass intimacy and appreciation or agreement. Thus in Chinese society, one should never attempt to address a superior by his given name, even if he is very close to him. On receiving a compliment from someone, no matter how much the complimented person is pleased with and agrees with what the other says, he should reject it and show some degree of modesty if he intends to be a well-mannered, polite person. On the contrary, Americans value intimacy and equality more than deference and status. A superior should initiate a reciprocal first-naming pattern after working together for a period of time with his subordinates. Otherwise, he might be regarded as snobbish or unfriendly. In Chinese society, however, it is not uncommon for colleagues of different status or the same status to address each other with formal address forms for many years. Because of the high value of modesty in Chinese society, most Chinese would on receiving a gift try to refuse the gift once or several times, and would not wish to open it in front of the giver. By this behavior, they manifest their modesty. To be polite means to behave and speak appropriately according to the sociocultural norms of the society. Therefore, to understand the 'Rules of Politeness' in American English and Chinese, we should have a better understanding of Chinese and American social structures and cultural values.

2.6 Social and family structures

Social structure occupies the first place among the determining factors in the politeness system, for it is the primary factor determining cultural values. The core of any culture is its family structure. This structure varies extensively among cultures. We can therefore use the family structure as a foundation for cross-cultural comparison. Family structure with its inherent relationships and obligations is a major source of cultural difference. Children learn about cultural values by observing and modeling the behavior of other family members.

China was traditionally a family-based society. The social structure was actually an extention of the family structure, and the principle holding the family together peacefully was also the principle behind the social order. China in the past was made up of big and extended families. In order to maintain peace and harmony within the family and in the society, the ethics of human relationship was established. There were five cardinal human relationships--the relationships between the king and the minister, between father and son, between husband and wife, between the old and the young (or the elder brother and the younger brother), and between friends. These relationships are known as ren lwun (人倫) 'The Principle of Human Beings' or 'The Doctrine of the Way of Man'. It signifies that people should treat each other according to the distinctions set out in this hierarchy. No man living in a group can place himself above or beyond these relationships. Although the Chinese social structure has changed, and the extended family system has yielded to the nuclear one, this basic human principle is deeply rooted in the Chinese mind and still influences and colors our social life today.

The principal idea for maintaining these human relationships is *ming-fen* (名份) 'name-duty, the rectification of names'. Every person has a 'name' in any social group and any social context, and this name specifies his status or role in relation to that of others. Each name has an assigned duty to go with it. For example, fathers must be kind to their sons and sons should show filial piety to their fathers *fu tsz dz syau* (父慈子孝); elder brothers must be friendly to their younger brothers and younger brothers must pay respect to their elder brothers *syung you de gung* (兄友弟恭). According to Confucius, if every man knows his place and acts in accordance with his place, then peace and social order will be ensured.

These human relationships are status-oriented, so they are also called the 'Doctrine of Social Status' (Lin 1939, p.177). In order to be a successful 'man', one has first to recognize his position and status in relation to that of others in the social context and act accordingly. As Confucius said, an educated and polite man is one who acts as his name means. For example, a king should act like a king, and a minister should act like a minister. Therefore, it often happens that when a Chinese is dealing with business in the society, what comes to his mind is not 'What is what', but 'Who is who?' In this instance, the 'who' means not the person's name, but rather his social status (such as manager, teacher, or maid).

The hierarchical structure of the social system is marked overtly by forms of address. Therefore, to address someone with a certain form of address serves not only the vocative function, but also announces the relative status and the role relationship between the speaker and the addressee. Therefore, one of the first lessons a Chinese child learns is to recognize his role in different social groups and the relative status between him and the people around him, and to address them correctly. Chinese are taught and trained to be sensitive to their social environment.

In contrast with the situation-centered and status-oriented Chinese social structure, American society is more individual-centered and stresses social equality. Because of the strong emphasis on the value of self-reliance, American children are encouraged from early childhood to make their own decisions, to follow their own predilections, to express their viewpoints, demand their rights, and expect their environment to be sensitive to them (F. Hsu 1981, p.98). In the United States the nuclear family, which consists of the father, the mother, and the unmarried children, is considered 'the family'. Relatives are considered family, but are often outside the basic obligations that people have to their immediate families. Americans have no obligations to support their parents nor their children after eighteen or twenty-one years of age. A grown-up child is encouraged, but not forced, to move out and begin an independent life. After children leave home, they often find social relationships and financial support outside the family. Their conformity to their peer group often takes precedence over their deference for their parents (F. Hsu 1981).

The fact that America has no social classes is only a myth, or an ideal that most Americans cling to (Fussell, 1983). American society does have social classes, which can be roughly divided into five levels (Fussell, 1983:27):

Upper
Upper middle
Middle
Lower middle
Lower

The criteria for the class distinctions are multilayered. They can be financial status, education, occupation, personal achievement or other minor criteria such as taste, values, ideas, style, etc. However, social mobility is quite high. Most people have the chance to move upward if they work hard at it. The middle class makes up the majority of American society, and is also the most sensitive to class distinctions (Fussell, 1983). Since unrestricted equality is their ideal, their behavior and speech are directed toward that end.

This also results in the American casualness in speech styles and forms of address toward their superiors. Sometimes they even

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play jokes on their superiors, including the President of the United States. The superiors are assumed to have the capacity to accept the jokes.

2.7 Cultural values

What is polite in one culture may appear rude in another culture. Criteria for politeness are, by and large, culturally defined and culturally bound. In this section we will discuss some cultural values which are related to the 'face wants' of politeness in conversation. Cultural values are what are expected of, hoped for, or required by the people. They are the system of criteria by which conduct is judged and sanctions applied (Albert 1968). Value interpretation is abstracted from actual conduct. They arise in society, are introduced through the school and the family, and finally internalized in the self. They become the underlying criteria for one's speech and conduct. People of the same cultural background share most of the same values, so that they can communicate with each other easily. This also explains why people of different cultural backgrounds have greater difficulty in communication, since they do not share the same assumptions and the same cultural values, even though both of them may have a good command of the linguistic medium. This may even happen to people of the same cultural background if they happen to not share the same set of values. The best example is the so-called 'generation gap'. The old and the young often have a different set of values.

Of the cultural values cherished by Chinese people in Taiwan today, most are still traditional Chinese values, but some are adopted from or influenced by western cultures. This results in some cultural conflicts and different judgments about the appropriateness of some speech behavior.

2.7.1 Independence and interdependence

Influenced by the Chinese family structures and social relationships, every Chinese has a strong identification with the family, not only the nuclear family but often also the extended family. Moreover, he also tries to locate his place and relationship in every social group with which he is associated. Conforming with or identifying with the group is a dominant value for Chinese. Traditionally, a person who tries to 'stand out' without taking the interest and dignity of his family into consideration is frowned upon and regarded as brash. A man who neglects his interrelationship with his family, relatives, or friends and acts independently for the sake of justice or his own interest might be criticized as bu tung ren-ching (不通人情) 'inconsiderate, lacking concern for others', or lyou-chin bu ren (六親不認) 'cold and selfish; lit: disregarding the six key kin relationships'.

For Chinese, identification with one's family means more than taking the family name; it requires also the worshipping of ancestors, obeying the wishes of the parents, and taking care of the parents in their old age. Home is a man's castle, a place where he not only obtains protection and living necessities, but where he also performs his duties and makes his contributions. Within the home there is little privacy, but rather open sharing and mutual dependence. In the past few decades because of the influence of western culture and industrialization, the family tie has loosened somewhat and the value placed on independence has increased, but mutual dependence is still highly regarded among family members and close associates. This is probably the source of Chinese ren-ching-wei (人情味) 'genuine human warmth'.

In contrast with Chinese interdependence, Americans highly value independence. As mentioned in section 2.6, Americans are educated to be independent from childhood. An American usually takes his successes or failures as his own, not necessarily to honor or disgrace his family, and if one gets a job through his family connection, he is likely to feel that he has achieved less (Condon & Yousef, 1975:75).

Americans may love and respect their parents as much as Chinese do, but they have no obligations to support or take care of their parents in their old age. Impersonal institutions, such as insurance and retirement plans, are entrusted with the care of the elder.

2.7.2 Age

Chinese are a people that value age and experience. Age is a symbol of knowledge, experience, power and status. There is often a correlation between seniority and power. One of the primary criteria of social hierarchy in China is age. Age thus becomes the most important determinant of Chinese forms of address. The higher one's age, the greater respect he receives. Even among those of the same generation there is still a distinction of seniority based on age differences. Sometimes a difference of one year (one month, or even one day) makes a difference in seniority, and thus different kinship terms, such as ge-ge (哥哥) vs. di-di (弟弟) 'elder brother vs. younger brother', and jye-jye (姐姐) vs. mei-mei (妹妹) 'elder sister vs. younger sister', are used to define these distinctions. Again among the elder brothers/sisters, further distinctions of seniority according to age differences are made, resulting in different forms of address accordingly, such as da-ge (大哥) vs. er-ge (二哥) vs. san-ge (三哥) 'the eldest brother vs. the second elder brother vs. the third elder brother'. In old China, the younger were taught to show respect to the elder not only in conduct but also in speech. They would refrain from addressing the elder directly by name. Nowadays, the rules for showing respect to the elder of the same generation are not as strict as in the past, but respect to an elder is always regarded as polite behavior.

Americans, a youth-loving culture, value vigor, idealism, freshness, and change. Unlike the average Chinese, for whom the approach of age marks the beginning of a loftier and more respected status, average Americans regard old age as the end of everything (J. Hsu 1980, p.233). Americans do not show as much respect for seniority as Chinese do. For example, in English there is no mark of seniority difference among people of the same generation. Therefore, there is no distinction between elder and younger members among sisters, brothers, uncles, or aunts. This phenomenon sometimes extends to more distant relations. For example, many people address their parents-in-law or their colleagues of an older generation by first names. According to Brown and Ford (1961), in American society, personally achieved attributes are much more cherished than ascribed attributes, i.e., occupational position prevails over age in the determination of deference. But in Chinese society the respect for seniority is always observed. A younger executive or employer still has to show due respect to the older subordinate or employee by an appropriate form of address. Of course, the older member also shows respect for the younger superior's status by the use of his occupational title. Americans in general value intimacy and equality more than seniority. Therefore, colleagues in the same institution prefer to address each other by first names, despite their age differences, with the exception of a few high executives.

The respect for age may go vertically as far as the ancestor, which plays a significant role in the greatest Chinese virtue, filial piety. So we worship and bow to our ancestors, and refer to them with a respectful form of address. The respect for age also goes beyond the family circle. We treat friends, associates, and sometimes even fellow schoolmates tung-sywe (同學) who are older than us as our elders. The function of kinship terms not only marks the kinship relationship, but serves as a very important tool for showing respect to seniority. Besides forms of address, Chinese show respect to the elder by other linguistic or nonlinguistic means, such as turn-taking in the conversation, speech style, honorific forms, seating at the table, the order of eating and of entrance and exit.

As mentioned earlier, Americans are a youth-loving culture. They like to stay young, look young, and do not like to be treated as old. The term 'old people' therefore becomes taboo to many old people, and is replaced by the euphemism 'senior citizens'. But again 'senior citizen' still sounds unpleasant to many people. Now in Taiwan, perhaps influenced by the recent trend of western culture, people like to stay young and look young. Therefore, 'looking young' has become a highly regarded value now. The use of forms of address has reflected this value. For example, to nonrelatives, a-yi (阿姨) 'an aunt younger than one's mother' prevails over bwo-mu (伯母) 'an aunt older than one's mother', and shu-shu (叔叔) 'an uncle younger than one's father' prevails over bwo-fu/ bwo bwo (伯父/伯伯) 'an uncle older than one's father'. Even these younger-sounding forms of address still indicate the respect given to seniority.

2.7.3 Status

Within the complicated and hierarchical Chinese family and social structures, each individual has a specific role and status. Generally, people of older age and higher position have higher status. Besides the five cardinal role distinctions mentioned earlier, in the past people could roughly be divided into four classes according to their occupation: scholars, farmers, artisans, and merchants, in the order of descending social status. Scholars used to occupy the highest position, and were respected highly, because they were 'learned' men with broad knowledge and high moral virtues. Nowadays, rich merchants have raised their status, and sometimes surpass scholars, because of the rise of the 'money' value. However, we would say that scholars still hold higher respect at least from the standpoint of morality. To be fair, the original Confucian cardinal relationships were more for the sake of preserving harmonious human relations rather than for dividing society into a strict class system. However, Confucian philosophy has had a great impact on the division of society into two classes: those who govern people and those who are governed. This is best illustrated in Mencius: '(One) either labors with his mind or with his strength; those who labor with their mind govern people and those who labor with their strength are governed' (或勞心，或勞力，勞心者治人，勞力者治於人—孟子滕文公). The former are referred to as 'gentlemen', and the latter as 'little people', 'uncultivated people' or 'common people' (cf. Kin 1978, p.68). This implicit division has influenced Chinese a great deal, and even today, high executives and government officials still hold a higher social status.

Aside from the rulers, the father at home and the teacher at school also hold high status and have great authority over their offspring or students. Because of the high esteem granted to knowledge, morality, and education, teachers are highly respected. As the old Chinese saying goes, yi-r wei shr jung-shen wei fu (一日爲師，終身爲父), 'once being a teacher, a man is always treated (respectfully and intimately) as a father'. Within the family, because of the emphasis on the virtue of filial piety, parents, especially the father, have high status and authority. The father is the head of the household, and no one questions his authority. Children are supposed to obey their parents and listen attentively, and when there are visitors, the children should remain silent most of the time, unless they are spoken to. This is what the old Chinese saying 'Children are to be seen, but not heard' means. In recent years, parents' and teachers' authority has weakened substantially. However, most school teachings still emphasize the importance of showing respect (and sometimes obedience as well) to parents and teachers as the proper manner for the young people.

The discussion so far has emphasized that Chinese pay great respect to status. It does not mean that we have a clear stratification of social classes. Chinese also believe all men are equal, equal as human beings, and thus deserve respect and human dignity, and therefore everyone should treat everyone else as politely as possible (J. Hsu 1980, p.229).

In contrast with Chinese people's respect for status and authority, Americans generally do not believe in authority, and do not respect status as much as Chinese do. They have a distaste for social hierarchy, and believe that all human beings are equal, though in actual practice they do make some distinction in social classes. Teachers and parents no longer have as much status and authority as they used to. The schools and families nowadays are more democratic and child-centered. This is most obvious in dinner-table conversation, where children often talk more than adults, and express their viewpoints freely and sometimes exaggeratedly (Condon & Yousef 1975, pp.75-77).

For fear of being misunderstood as status-conscious, many Americans feel uncomfortable with titles, especially status-connected official titles, and they assume others feel the same way. Therefore, superiors often use informal language or informal forms of address and invite others to do so, for example, by saying 'Don't call me professor, call me John'. The common polite forms of address are the social titles: Mr./Mrs./Miss, with which the social status is not explicitly marked. For Chinese, if one does not show proper respect to an interlocutor's status, he is likely to be regarded as being impolite. This goes even to the extreme for Japanese, 'who cannot communicate until they know the status of the other person since the language requires different forms to correspond to the status of the listener' (Stewart 1972, p.53).

2.7.4 Formality

The first book on etiquette in China is *Li Ji* (禮記) 'The Book of Rites'. Confucius said, 'One can not stand (in a society) without studying etiquette' *bu sywe li, wu yi li* (不學禮，無以立). So the teachings of etiquette (or politeness) have been the main body of education. Students learn many ceremonial rituals, speech styles, honorific forms of address, and dress-codes for different occasions (e.g. mourning garments and wedding gowns are strictly regulated). They are taught to watch out for every movement in order not to appear rude or vulgar.

Chinese use formality as a sign to show respect and reverence and also to indicate one's education and breeding. No matter how close the relationship may have developed between two persons, some degree of formality is always regarded as necessary. Most people prefer to be blamed for being too formal than to be blamed for being too casual or for showing a lack of respect. This is strongly influenced by the old saying *li dwo ren bu gwai* (禮多人不怪) 'People do not blame a person for being too polite'.

Americans use informality as an indication of friendship, closeness and intimacy. Therefore, informality is assumed as the essential element in sincere human relations, and formality is often distrusted as a mask of insincerity (Condon & Yousef 1975, p.87). This informality extends far beyond spoken language to areas of dress, stance, seating behavior, and other nonverbal expressions. Because of the different cultural values toward formality, Chinese appear too reserved and too formal in the eyes of Americans, and Americans seem brash, impudent, or disrespectful to Chinese.

2.7.5 Deference and modesty

According to the Chinese way of thinking, politeness means both deference and modesty, and these two concepts are often put together in one compound word, *chyan-gung* (謙恭) 'modest and deferential'. To show politeness, one should raise others and lower oneself at the same time. Verbally, one shows deference most commonly by using honorifics and polite forms when referring to the addressee, his family, and his belongings, such as nin fu-shang (您府上) 'your (honorable) house', gwei-gwo (貴國) 'your (honorable) country', or ling-lang (令郎) 'your (precious) son'. One shows modesty by using humble forms when referring to oneself, such as maw-she (茅舍), bi-dzai (敝宅) 'my (humble) house', bi-gwo (敝國) 'my (humble) country' and chwan-dz (犬子) 'my son (lit. doggy-son)'. In the nonverbal aspect, one may show deference and modesty by bowing, or as in the past by kneeling down, which is one way of making the other person higher than oneself. Modesty is a great virtue for Chinese. A man who brags about the ability, achievement, or appearance of himself or his family will be ridiculed. The essence of modesty is reflected most clearly in compliment responses and gift-giving expressions, where one sometimes tries to downgrade or deprecate himself or his belongings to an extent that may puzzle and irritate Westerners, including Americans.

Americans value deference and modesty too, but not as much as equality, appreciation and truthfulness. The nature of modesty sometimes contradicts with truthfulness and agreement. For example, suppose Suzy compliments John on his new outfit. John agrees with her and is happy about it. Should John acknowledge the compliment gracefully or deny it humbly? The decision most of the time is left to cultural rules. Most Americans would choose the former way, since agreement and appreciation are valued more highly than modesty.

2.7.6 Privacy

Privacy is probably a concept as early and universal as human society. When two or more people get together or live together, sometimes they may wish to have some space, some time period, or some things totally belonging to themselves, without the intrusion or notice of others. However, different cultures vary as to the content of the privacy and the degree of control an individual may demand to have over his privacy.

Francis Hsu attributes the great contrast between the American home and the Chinese home to the concept of privacy: 'The American emphasis within the home is on privacy... Space and possessions are individualized. Parents have little liberty in the rooms of the children... Among some sections of the American population, their rule of privacy extends to the husband and wife. Within the Chinese home, on the other hand, privacy hardly exists at all, except between members of the opposite sexes who are not spouses. Chinese children, even in homes which have ample rooms, often share the same chamber with their parents until they reach adolescence. Not only do parents have freedom of action with reference to the children's belongings, but the youngsters can use the possessions of the parents... For they consider all within the four walls as being one body' (F. Hsu 1981, pp.78-79).

As we may notice in China now, F. Hsu's concept of privacy within the Chinese home has changed quite a bit. More and more privacy is granted to individual members of the family. Most of the upper middle class families have separate rooms and more privacy for their children; however, the concept of sharing among the family members is still emphasized, and parents still have power over the actions and belongings of children still at home.

Americans in general emphasize privacy a great deal, though maybe not to the extent of Hsu's description above for some Americans. A well-mannered person would never ask about another person's age, income, other money matters, marital status, or things which are too personal or might embarrass the addressee. Many things which are classified as private matters in American society are not private matters at all in Chinese society. On the contrary, to ask about someone's age, income, the price of his possessions, or marital status is one way of showing concern or admiration. In the past Chinese had total freedom to ask about others' age. Despite the influx of Western culture, even today it is still permissible to ask about others' age, especially if the addressee is an old man/woman who has entered the admirable loftier age. Among friends of the same generation, asking the other's age is one way to find out the order of seniority and decide who should be treated as the elder. To avoid being brash, one may ask subtly which of the twelve animals of the Chinese zodiac he belongs to or which year he was graduated from college or high school.

For Chinese, privacy means things which are too shameful or embarrassing to be told to outsiders, such as getting divorced, being jailed, or flunking or being expelled from school. Chinese may ask about any money matter except that directly involving the speaker and the addressee, such as the wage that H should pay to S, or the charge that S will give to H. Sometimes it is embarrassing to ask or bargain about the salary directly with one's boss. The best way is to ask a third party to go between. However, asking about salary can be somewhat more direct nowadays. People do not feel as embarrassed to ask about salary as they used to.

The definition of concern and the division between concern and privacy is culturally defined. The respect for privacy, however, is universal. In order to be polite, one has to find out the exact meaning and content of privacy in the culture concerned.

2.7.7 Intimacy

So far Chinese have been presented in this study as a people that show a lot of formality and pay a great amount of deference to superiors. This does not mean Chinese do not know or do not like to show intimacy to others. On the contrary, as mentioned earlier, Chinese people are full of ren-ching-wei (人情味) 'human warmth'. However, the Chinese concept of intimacy is not quite the same as that of the American. Among the different types of human relations, family members belong to the most intimate circle. Therefore, to show intimacy to a friend is to include him within the family circle, address him with a kinship term, treat him like a family member, and also show respect for his seniority if he is an elder. With the Chinese concept of intimacy, one may show deference and intimacy simultaneously. They are not multually exclusive.

The American concept of intimacy is based more on equality and closeness. Once two persons are on intimate terms, there is supposed to be no social distance or status difference between them. They are equal and close to each other, and address each other by first names, and treat each other as peers. It is rare for an American to address a friend as a brother or sister and uncommon for them to address the parents' friends by kinship terms such as 'uncle' or 'aunt'. Deference and intimacy are mutually exclusive for Americans. If between two people one shows deference, a social distance is built up between them. But if one shows intimacy, then no distance exists between them horizontally or vertically. Below are diagrams of the American and Chiness ways of showing intimacy. In figure 1, the American social setting, H_1 (the superior or the elder) and H_3 (the subordinate or the junior) are drawn to almost the same level as S vertically and also very close to S horizontally. H_2 (the equal) is pulled close to S too. As a result, H_1, H_2, H_3 are

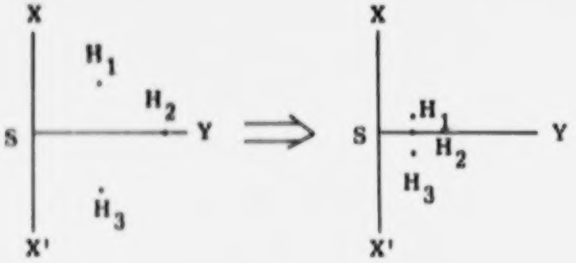

Figure 1: The American way of showing intimacy

x-x': the axis of intimacy
S-Y: the axis of status

all treated almost as equals, if they are assumed to have an intimate relationship with S. In figure 2, the Chinese social setting, H_1 and H_3 are drawn close to S horizontally into the intimacy zone, but still remain above or below S in status. Only H_2, who was originally an equal to S, stays in the same status level.

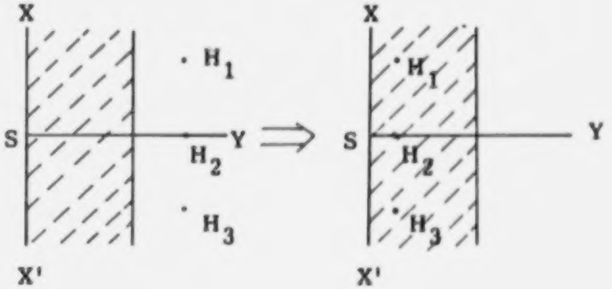

Figure 2: The Chinese way of showing intimacy

▨ : intimacy zone (or the family circle)

2.7.8 Directness

One of the striking contrasts between Chinese and Americans is their concept of directness in speech and interpersonal relationships. Chinese sometimes feel that Americans are too outspoken and forthright and they lack finesse; while Americans may have the impression that Chinese do not seem to be able to make up their minds or they are kind of wishy-washy and they beat around the bush and never seem to come to the point (J. Hsu 1980). This misinterpretation is often the result of different attitudes toward directness.

Chinese view indirectness as an art of speaking and business dealings and call it *wei-wan* (委婉) 'subtlety'. Indirectness is a frequently used strategy for avoiding the loss of face of the addressee or the speaker himself. It is perhaps due to this habitual indirectness in social encounters that Chinese have been labeled 'inscrutable'. Americans, on the contrary, emphasize efficiency and directness. They generally believe that words should say what they mean and people should be accountable for what they say in words. 'Getting down to brass tacks' and 'sticking to facts' are values taken for granted in American business and education, (perhaps more generally by American men).[7] These two people's different attitudes toward directness create their differences in speech patterns (e.g. making requests and invitations, which will be discussed later) and their judgments about the appropriateness of speech behavior.

2.8 The concepts and norms of politeness in Chinese and American societies

Human beings living in a society interact with each other every day, and friction becomes inevitable. In order to reduce friction and maintain peace and social harmony, each society has developed certain sets of rules. They are called etiquette, manners, courtesy or rites. Here we use the general term 'politeness' to cover them all in a broad sense.

Conversational politeness is the lubricant that helps to make verbal communication move smoothly. The strategies of conversational politeness assist people to clear obstacles in communication and get the meaning and intention across to hearers successfully and accurately.

In the previous sections we have discussed the concept of politeness from pragmatic, anthropological and sociological points of view. Here we will take a look at how ordinary Chinese and Americans think about the norms of politeness, as defined and prescribed in dictionaries and books on etiquette.

According to Webster's Third New International Dictionary (1981), 'politeness' is defined as 'the polished or refined manners;

courteous or socially correct behavior'; 'courteous' is defined as 'courteous behavior: well-mannered conduct, indicative of respect for or considerations of others; a courteous act of expression; a favor courteously performed; consideration; generosity in providing or according a gift, loan or privilege;' and 'etiquette' is defined as 'the forms required by good breeding or prescribed by authority to be observed in social or official life; observance of the properties of rank, and occasions; conversational decorums.'

According to the Random House Dictionary of the English Language (1967), 'politeness' is defined as 'showing good manners toward others as in behavior, speech, etc.; courteous; civil; of a refined or elegant kind', and 'courtesy' is defined as 'excellence of manners or social conduct; a respectful or considerate act or expression; favor, help or generosity', and 'etiquette' as 'conventional requirements as to social behavior; properties of conduct as established in any class or community or for any occasion.'

According to the well-known American etiquette authorities, Emily Post's Etiquette (1969) and The Amy Vanderbilt Complete Book of Etiquette (1978), a good conversationalist is one who takes the 'middle road', neither too silent nor too bossy or glib, knowing when to listen to others and when to carry the conversation; he is kind and considerate, and always thinks before he speaks; he knows how to build up a pleasant atmosphere by choosing agreeable and interesting topics, and by avoiding private matters and controversial subjects. He also uses appropriate forms of address and polite social expressions.

From the above definitions of politeness and the prescription for good conversationalists, we may discover that Americans have pretty explicit descriptions and prescriptions of politeness concerning conversation. Most of these are observed by Americans on more formal occasions, but some might be considered to be too formal or too polite for most daily conversations (this will be discussed in the succeeding chapter). These descriptions are useful as the norms or guidelines for people to follow if they wish to appear well-mannered and win respect from others in social gatherings.

According to Fussel (1983) books on etiquette are Americans' favorites, because respect from others is what most Americans (about 76% of respondents from a Louis Harris poll) want most, and contempt and neglect are what they fear most. Behaving according to the rules of politeness is one way to raise a man's social esteem and hopefully make him somebody instead of remaining nobody (Fussell 1983, p.19).

Unlike in English, there are few books or articles on conversational politeness in Chinese based on the current Chinese language and modern Chinese social structure. Those available are mostly either translated from English or are based on Western norms. This is probably because after the May Fourth Movement, contact and conflict between Chinese and Western cultures blurred many people's concept of Chinese politeness. As to the dictionary definitions, most of them are copied from Li-ji(禮記) 'The Book of Rites', Lun-yu (論語) 'The Analects', and other classics. This is probably due to the fact that dictionary writers still believe the orthodox definitions should be traced back to those described in the classics. In spite of modernization, the majority's norms of speech and behavior nowadays are still strongly influenced by the traditional rules of politeness in many aspects. Therefore, in order to understand the root of modern Chinese concept of politeness, we have to examine the old regulations of Chinese politeness first.

China has been known as a country paying great attention to politeness. The most influential book on etiquette and ritual regulations is Li-ji 'The Book of Rites', which in essence follows the ethical norms of Confucianism. The original significance of Li in the old time was for worship and religious rituals, and later it evolved to be the ceremonial observances and ritual regulations in general. Most of the discussion in Li-ji is on wedding ceremonies, burial rites, funeral services, the systems of mourning garments, and the etiquette of kings and aristocrats, except the chapter of Chyu-li (曲禮), which is on the etiquette of speech and conduct in daily activities. Besides Li-ji, Lun-yu (論語) is another source for the formation of the Chinese concept of politeness or Li. Li in Chinese actually includes a very broad range of [illegible]. For example, it is the means to guide and to restrict people's conduct and thereby lead all people to a well-ordered and harmonious society. It is a person's reverential feelings or emotions toward others. Li is also the education or guidance of character on the path toward the realization of ren (仁) 'love, human feeling or affection'. For present purposes we will examine only those which have a close relation with language behavior. For a better understanding of the significance and implication of Li in the aspect of language politeness, it is divided into four components, and each is coupled with some quotes from the texts of the classics.

First, Li means propriety and rationality:

(1) li tsung yi.

禮從宜。(from Li-ji Chyu-li 禮記・曲禮)

'Li means to follow what is appropriate.'

(2) fu li swo-yi jr jung ye.

夫禮所以制中也。 (from Li-ji Jung-ni Yan-jyu 禮記、仲尼燕居)

'Li means to make things right through moderation.'

(3) dz ywe 'shr yu jyun-dz you san chyan: Yan wei ji jr er yan wei jr dzau, yan ji jr er bu yan wei jr yin, wei jyan yan-se er yan wei jr gu'.

子曰：「侍於君子有三愆：言未及之而言謂之躁，言及之而不言謂之隱，未見顏色而言謂之瞽。」(from Lun-yu Ji-sh pyan 論語季氏篇)

'Confucius said "There are three kinds of errors a man is liable to make when in the presence of his superiors. (First), to speak when one is not called upon is called being hasty. (Secondly), to keep quiet when called upon to speak is called being secretive. (Thirdly), to talk without examining the facial expression of the person being spoken to is called blindness."'

Secondly, *Li* means every utterance and every deed should fit one's role and status, and *Li* is used to make such role and status distinctions:

(1) dz ywe 'ming-bu-jeng dze yan-bu-shwun; yan-bu-shwun dze shr-bu-cheng.'

子曰：「名不正則言不順，言不順則事不成。」 (from *Lun-yu dz-lu pyan* 論語子路篇)

'Confucius said, "If the names, i.e. roles and status, are not properly defined, words will not correspond to facts. When words do not correspond to facts, nothing can be accomplished."'

(2) fu li je, swo-i ding chin-shu; jywe syan-yi, bye tung-yi, ming shr-fei ye.

夫禮者，所以定親疏，決嫌疑，別同異，明是非也。 (from *Li-ji chyu-li* 禮記曲禮)

'*Li* is to distinguish the intimate from the distant, clarify ambiguity, distinguish the same from the different, and to recognize right from wrong.

Thirdly, Li means to control everything within bounds and to refrain from doing things that are impolite or improper:

(1) li bu yu-jye, bu chin-wu, bu hau-sya.

禮不踰節，不侵侮，不好狎。 (from Li-ji Chyu-li 禮記曲禮)

'Li means not to go beyond one's limit, not to offend or to slight others, and not to be too intimate.'

(2) dz ywe 'ke ji fu li wei ren.' Yan-ywan ching-wun chi mu. dz ywe 'fei li wu shr, fei li wu ting, fei li wu yan, fei li wu dung.'

子曰：「克己復禮爲仁。」顏淵請問其目。子曰：「非禮勿視，非禮勿聽，非禮勿言，非禮勿動。」 (from Lun-yu yan-ywan pyan 論語顏淵篇)

'Confucius said "Ren means to control one's emotional desires to conform to Li." Yan-ywan asked for detailed rules to be observed. Confucious answered "Whatever is contrary to politeness, don't look at it; whatever is contrary to politeness, don't listen to it; whatever is contrary to politeness, don't say it; whatever is contrary to politeness, don't do it."'

Fourthly, Li means to show reverence and modesty:

(1) fu li je, dz-bei er dzwun ren.

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夫禮者，自卑而尊人。(from Li-ji Chyu-li 禮記曲禮)

'Li means to humble oneself and to honor others.'

(2) jang-je wun, bu ts-rang er dwei, fei li ye.

長者問，不辭讓而對，非禮也。 (from Li-ji Chyu-li 禮記曲禮)

'When being asked a question by an elder, if one answers off-hand without showing any hesitation and modesty, he is impolite.'

(3) li, jing ye.

禮，敬也。 (from Mwo-dz 墨子)

'Li means respectfulness.'

(4) ts-rang jr syin, li jr dwan ye.

辭讓之心，禮之端也。 (from Meng-dz 孟子)

'A humble mind is the root of Li.'

Besides those described in the classics, there are quite a few old sayings and proverbs about speech which have been regarded as immutable golden laws and have been passed down from generation to generation. Their influence is extensive, and have reached the general public, literate or illiterate:

(1) chu-shr jye dwo-yan, yan dwo bi shr.

處世戒多言，言多必失。

'When dealing with others one should be careful not to talk too much. Talking too much is sure to lead into errors.'

(2) bing tsung kou ru, hwo tsung kou chu.

病從口入，禍從口出。

'Illness enters through the mouth, and troubles come out of the mouth. (i.e. Talking too much will get one into trouble.)'

(3) hwa dwo bu tyan, jyau dwo bu nyan.

話多不甜，膠多不黏。

'Too much talk loses its sweetness; too much glue loses its stickiness.'

(4) dwo chr wu dz-wei, dwo hwa bu jr-chyan.

多吃無滋味，多話不值錢。

'Eating too much loses the flavor; talking too much becomes worthless.'

(5) shr-fei jr wei dwo kai-ko, fan-nau jye yin chyang chu-tou.

是非只爲多開口，煩惱皆因強出頭。

'Disputes come from talking too much and troubles come from showing off.'

(6) li-wei syou fu-jung, yan-ching mwo chywan ren.

力微休負重，言輕莫勸人。

'If one is weak, he should not try to lift heavy things; if one's words are not influential enough, he should not try to give advice.'

(7) hwa dau she-byan lyou ban-jyu.

話到舌邊留半句。

'When words come to the tip of the tongue, (don't say every thing) say only half. (That means, one has to be cautious about his words).'

(8) jyan ren shwo ren hwa, jyan gwei shwo gwei hwa.

見人說人話，見鬼說鬼話。

'When you talk to a human being, use the human language, when you talk to a ghost, use the ghost language.'

(9) lyang-yan i-jyu san dung nwan, e-yu shang ren lyou-ywe han.

良言一句三冬暖，惡語傷人六月寒。

'A kind word keeps a man warm for three winters. A bitter (hurting) word chills a man even in the hot summer of June.'

(10) ren you dwan, chye mwo jye, ren you sz, chye mwo shwo. dau ren shan, ji shr shan, yang ren dwan, ji shr e.

人有短，切莫揭，人有私，切莫說。

道人善，即是善，揚人短，即是惡。

'Don't reveal a man's weakness; don't mention a man's private matters. It is a good deed to mention others' good deeds, and evil behavior to talk about others' shortcomings.'

(11) ts wan bi neng dung ren.

辭婉必能動人。

'Talking subtly may impress people more.'

(12) syou-ts li chi cheng.

修辭，立其誠。

'Rhetoric is for the purpose of expressing sincerity.'

(13) chyau-yan bu-ru jr-dau.

巧言不如直道。

'Flattery is not as good as straightforwardness.'

(14) jyun-dz jr jyau dan ru shwei, syau-ren jr jyau tyan ru mi.

君子之交淡如水，小人之交甜如蜜。

'A gentleman's friendship, though as flavorless as water, is never tiring; while the friendship of people of low standards, though as sweet as honey, we get tired of quickly.'

(15) da ren bu da lyan.

打人不打臉。

'When you hit a person, don't hit him on the face (i.e. don't make one lose face.)'

The advice Chinese philosophers and scholars give about politeness as in the quotes mentioned above can be summarized as: (1) to watch out for personal relations and speak according to the relative status and social roles, (2) to follow the Doctrine of the Mean, (3) to refrain from talking too much, (4) to be sincere, (5) to show reverence and modesty, and (6) to respect people's 'face' (self-respect). Most of these rules of thumb are about how to deal with people harmoniously and successfully. No wonder it is said that Chinese philosophy is centered on the doctrine of the way of people, ren-lun (人倫).

There are many common features between the American concept of politeness and the Chinese concept of politeness: both mean not to offend others and to show respect and consideration to others. There are, however, some differences between these two cultures. Americans place more emphasis on not intruding on others' privacy and how to talk with good manners, how to put others at ease and how to build up a pleasant atmosphere. Chinese place more emphasis on human relations, formality, deference and modesty, and the rule that 'Silence is golden'.

The books or classics on politeness, and proverbs or old sayings, tell people the Do's and Don'ts concerning speech and behavior. They are prescriptive in a sense, since they set the norms instead of describing the actual polite speech behavior. This study, instead, will use a more rigorous sociolinguistic framework to study how people actually express politeness in real social interactions by means of linguistic strategies.

Chapter III

Linguistic Strategies for Politeness

Language is not used for conveying information only. It is also used to establish and reinforce social relationships, and to express age, sex, status, politeness, and other social meanings. These social meanings are expressed by means of linguistic variation and various linguistic strategies. In this chapter, we will discuss the commonly used linguistic strategies employed in expressing conversational politeness.

'Face wants' are the major social or functional constraints on the use of politeness strategies. Linguistic variation in sociolinguistics means sets of words, phrases, or sentences which share the basic linguistic meaning but differ in that the members of the set carry different social connotations. The social connotation gives information about the interlocutor's social status and about how the speaker wishes to be treated and how he would like to treat others. Before one decides on a linguistic alternant he has to determine which 'face want' is in need for the interaction, for example, deference or intimacy. If he decides on 'deference', he has to choose an honorific form of address, and a more indirect, formal sentence structure over the counterpart forms of intimate and casual speech.

3.1 Linguistic variation

Linguistic variants are not really identical in meaning, as claimed by Chomsky, and are not used sporadically for the sake of avoiding monotony. They are meaning-carriers. Linguistic variation in prosodic features, lexical items, syntactic structure, and code-switching has been claimed to play an important role in politeness phenomena (see R. Lakoff, 1973a, 1973b, 1974. Leech 1983, Carrell & Konneker 1981).

3.1.1 Prosodic features

Prosodic features, such as tempo, pitch, loudness, voice, tone, and intonation can be adjusted to make the speaker sound cool, bitter, harsh, kind, patient, sweet, friendly, sympathetic, or respectful. 'Pleasant voice' and 'polite intonation' are the commonly used prosodic means in social interactions. The prosodic features mentioned here do not refer to those voice qualities with which we are born, but those vocal qualities which are socially acquired for functional purposes. Often when the tone of an utterance contradicts with the meaning of the words and the grammar, we normally believe in the tone. For example, if someone says, 'You are a nice man' in a sarcastic tone, it is often taken to mean the opposite. Furthermore, people may intentionally choose between standard pronunciation and non-standard pronunciation to indicate formality, casualness or solidarity.

3.1.2 Lexical items

Many words, besides denotative meaning, carry also other connotations, good or derogative, formal or informal, honorific or humble, distant or intimate. Therefore, the choice among lexical alternants becomes a very important linguistic device for showing personal attitudes, especially politeness. For example, because of the good and bad connotations associated with the pairs of words: 'slim' vs.'skinny', and jye-jyan (節儉) 'frugal' vs. lin-se (吝嗇) 'stingy', the former are used for compliments, and the latter for criticism. On formal occasions, formal words, such as 'dine' or the counterpart Chinese yung-tsan (用餐) are used, but in casual situations the informal word 'eat' and the counterpart Chinese chr (吃) are employed instead. Furthermore, slang or jargon is used to show group identity; an euphemism is used to ward off embarrassment associated with its counterpart taboo word, and at the same time to show respect to the person addressed. A courtesy expression, or the so-called ke-chi hwa (客氣話)in Chinese, is selected over its counterpart plain or less polite expression to show one's good manners, respect, and modesty (see 3.2.1 Strategy 6).

3.1.3 Syntactic structure

The three sentences, 'Show me the book', 'I'd like to take a look at the book', and 'Could you show me the book?', though different in grammatical structure, all perform the function of requesting something pragmatically, but with different shades of politeness. The three types of sentences, imperative/declarative/interrogative, form a scale of politeness (Lakoff, 1974). They show different degrees of indirectness. The more indirect an utterance is, the wider the margin is for H to reject it, the less imposition it puts on H, and therefore the more polite it is. Among the three types of sentences, the imperative (most direct) is the least polite, and the interrogative (least direct) is the most polite, with the declarative in between. This is why an interrogative sentence is often used as a conversational polite request. Sentences like 'Could you (please) pass me the salt?' and 'Would you tell me what time it is now?' are all well understood polite requests. This politeness scale is based on the assumption that the increasing freedom of the addressee to refuse the request is correlated with increasing politeness (Lakoff, 1974).

On top of Lakoff's basic scale of imperative/declarative/interrogative, Carell and Konneker (1981) discovered that with the addition of modal verbs and their tense distinctions, this can develop into an eight-level hierarchy of politeness:

1. Could you give me a pack of Marlboros? most polite
2. Can you give me a pack of Marlboros?
3. Do you have a pack of Marlboros?
4. I'd like a pack of Marlboros.
5. I'll have a pack of Marlboros.
6. I want a pack of Marlboros.
7. Give me a pack of Marlboros.
8. A pack of Marlboros. least polite

(Carrell & Konneker 1981, p.21)

The modals add another level of conventional indirectness. The past tense of the modal conveys greater uncertainty than the present tense (Quirk and Greenbaum 1973), allowing more options for the addressee, and thus indicating a stronger degree of politeness. From the above sentences it seems apparent that politeness is correlated with syntactic complexity, and the minimal utterance (one word) seems to be the least polite request structure.[8]

A tag question such as 'Let's go, shall we?' is a device for reversing a declarative or an imperative sentence into an interrogative sentence to reduce the degree of imposition, and thus functions as a strategy of politeness, too. According to Lakoff (1975), women's speech is in general more polite than men's speech. One of the main linguistic strategies that women use is tag questions.

3.1.4 Styles

Language may vary according to the social situation. There are a number of dimensions along which language may vary. The most frequently encountered is the formal-informal dimension. How formally one person may speak to another depends not only on the situation (e.g. a job interview vs. a friendly chat), but also on the relative power of the participants. A person may de-emphasize the formality of a situation or reduce the status difference by using informal speech. As Chaika (1982) says, 'The style is the message'; style is an important communication tool because how something is said is often interpreted as part of what is said. There are no single-style speakers (Labov, 1972). Every individual commands several styles of speech within his repertoire, so that he is able to express various social meanings and different types and degrees of politeness through the proper manipulation of styles.

Joos (1967) made an attempt to further classify the formal-informal dimension into five styles: frozen, formal, consultative, casual, and intimate styles. The frozen style is used for print and for declamation or for symbolic moment speech, such as a wedding oath or the eulogy in a funeral service. The formal style is used for formal speaking or for writing. The consultative style is used for semi-formal situations, such as the conversation between strangers, or between superiors and subordinates. The casual and intimate styles are used with close friends and family members in casual situations. William Labov (e.g. 1972) and many other sociolinguists have done extensive studies on language styles, too. Despite the different methodologies and different ways of analysis in these studies, they unanimously prove that styles play a very important role in expressing personal relationship and one's attitudes toward the social context (e.g. seriousness, casualness, or contempt). Using a wrong style is as serious as wearing blue jeans to a formal party, or wearing an evening gown to a picnic. It can be an insult or become the object of laughter. The right manipulation of styles, on the contrary, can win others' friendship or respect.

3.1.5 Code-switching

Code-switching is the use of two or more linguistic varieties in the same conversation. The switch may be for only one word or for several minutes of speech. The varieties may be anything from genetically unrelated languages to two styles of the same language. For example, people in Taiwan often switch back and forth between Mandarin and Taiwanese or between Taiwanese and Japanese, or between Mandarin and other dialects in a conversation, and sometimes even within one single sentence. Why do people code-switch? They do it mainly for the purpose of redefining the interaction by moving it to a different social arena so as to maximize an outcome favorable to the hearer and himself. 'In Kenya, for example, a speaker might switch from the local language to Swahili to indicate his perception of the interaction as a transactional, e.g. commercial one, or switch to English as symbolic of power, especially if the interlocutor is weak in English.... Many speakers in the United States shift back and forth between pronunciations like 'doing' and 'doin', depending on the status relationship between speaker and hearer, and the topic and setting of the conversation' (Peñalosa 1981, p.77). Code-switching is a strategy a competent speaker may utilize to show warmth, solidarity and other aspects of the politeness phenomenon.

3.1.6 Nonverbal language

The nonverbal language of politeness includes gestures, facial expressions, eye contact, body movement, posture, and other aspects of demeanor, such as table manners, the right of precedence, providing service, gift-giving, rules concerning dress, etc. The nonverbal language is as powerful as the verbal language, and together with the verbal language constitutes a whole system of communication. In terms of sincerity, emotion or personal attitudes, people sometimes believe more in nonverbal language, because it is believed that people may sometimes deceive others by verbal language, but not so often by nonverbal expressions. Most of the nonverbal language is acquired unconsciously throughout one's life time. However, people know how to manipulate nonverbal expressions, consciously or unconsciously, to show the appropriate and different aspects of politeness.

Among the six types of linguistic variation discussed above, only four will be incorporated in the rest of the study. Prosodic features and nonverbal language will not be dealt with. It is not because they are unimportant, but rather because they deserve a separate and more thorough study. Since they are not to be included in the study, it is assumed in this study that they are kept in conditions such that they do not affect or contradict the verbal message.

3.2 Linguistic strategies

A competent adult speaker is a rational face-endowed being (see 2.2) who not only possesses linguistic competence, but also knows how to use linguistic strategies to show politeness in order to reach the goal of successful communication. In this section we will discuss the linguistic strategies for realizing politeness phenomena. For the sake of clarity, they are divided into positive politeness strategies and negative politeness strategies.

These strategies are actually the more specific devices under the category of linguistic variation discussed above. Therefore some of the discussion below may partly overlap with what was discussed above.

The focus of the following discussion is on the presentation of these strategies as means of politeness in a general way and occasionally some additional examples from other languages will be given. A consistent comparison between Chinese and English will be postponed until the next chapter.

3.2.1 Strategies for positive politeness

Positive politeness is the fulfillment of Politeness Rule 1: Do FSAs (face-satisfying-acts) sincerely; in other words, to satisfy one or more of the addressee's 'face wants', such as deference, intimacy, respect for privacy, praise, agreement, appreciation, concern, or freedom from imposition (cf. 2.2).

Strategy 1: Use appropriate address forms

Address forms in the broad sense include second-person pronouns, titles and names. In many languages the second person pronouns make a distinction between the polite (honorific) and familiar forms. Most of the European languages, unlike modern English which has only 'you',[9] make this distinction, for instance 'tu' vs. 'vous' in French and 'tu' vs. 'usted' in Spanish.[10]

Many non-European languages, for example, Japanese and Madurese (Neustupný 1978b), have such a distinction, too. In Mandarin, we also have a ni/nin (你 and 您) distinction. This familiar-polite pronoun distinction is called a T-V distinction by Brown and Gilman (1960). The T-V forms are used to show the relative power relation and solidarity relation between H and S. The superior usually gives T and receives V, and the subordinate gives V and receives T in return. Brown and Gilman (1960) found that in modern European languages the T-V distinction functioning as a solidarity indicator has won over its old usage as a power indicator. That is, the pronoun usage becomes reciprocal, and the choice of T or V is dependent on the mutual degree of solidarity. In Mandarin, the ni-nin distinction is used both for power and solidarity marking.

Forms of address, in a narrow and usual sense, means the use of titles and names as address forms. They can roughly be classified into the following three basic categories, with each category being further subdivided in each language:

1) Title alone
2) Title + Surname
3) Full name, given name or other intimate forms of address

The first two categories are the polite or formal forms of address and the third category is the familiar or intimate forms of address. Their usage is very similar to that of the T-V usage mentioned above. A more detailed discussion of Chinese and American forms of address appears in the next chapter.

Strategy 2: Use an appropriate speech style

In Sec. 3.1.4 we have discussed the different styles of speech and their social functions and meanings. In this section, we will only mention how people express formal and informal styles by means of specific linguistic features. In English, generally, the formal style is characterized by more clear and slow pronunciation, complete sentence structure, and more learned and formal vocabulary. The informal style is characterized by ellipses (e.g. 'Nice to see you') and contractions (e.g. 'I c'n help 'em' and 'I'm goin' home'), more informal words, slang and jargon, and a fast tempo of speech (cf. Joos 1967, J. Hsu 1980, Ohashi 1978). In Chinese, the formal style is expressed by the use of slow and clear pronunciation, formal words, classical expressions (wen-yan wen 文言文), and some formal courtesy expressions (ke-tau haw 客套話) such as jyou-yang (久仰) 'I have heard your illustrious name for a long time', and bu gan-dang (不敢當) 'don't deserve it'. The informal style is characterized by more ellipses, redundancy, slang, afterthought expressions, and fast tempo (Ge 1983).

Strategy 3: Show agreement or approval

One way to make the addressee happy is to agree with him sincerely. To show agreement one can simply give H a positive affirmation, such as 'Yeah, that's right', 'Yes, I agree with you', 'That's a good idea', or in Chinese shr-de (是的) 'Yes', dwei (對) 'right', or wan-chywan jeng-chywe (完全正確) 'absolutely correct'. Sometimes, agreement and approval can be intensified by some adjectives, adverbs or exclamations, such as 'extremely', 'terrific', 'incredible', 'Gee', or 'Wow' in English, and bang-ji le (棒極了) 'great, terrific', fei-chang (非常) 'very' or wa (哇) 'Wow'.

To repeat H's words is another way to show agreement with what H has just said. For example:

1. A: Let's go have some beer at the Max.
   B: Have a beer? That's a great idea.

2. A: ta jyan-jr tai gwo-fen le.
   他簡直太過分了。
   'He is really too much.'
   B: di-chywe tai gwo-fen le.
   的確太過分了。
   'Absolutely, (he's) really too much.'

The best way to be agreeable in conversation is to choose safe topics and avoid controversial issues, private matters, or other topics which have a high probability of leading to bitter arguments. However, to be too agreeable is just as bad, for it may sound subservient or spoil the fun of conversation.

Strategy 4: Compliment

A sincere compliment is probably the most effective way to give people encouragement, confidence, and support. The love of praise is human nature, and has been claimed to be one of the basic 'face wants'. No wonder Mark Twain once said, 'I can live for two months on a good compliment.' A compliment is a good way to show one's recognition and admiration of the other's favorable points, such as appearance and achievement. A compliment differs from flattery in that it is sincere and objective, and is given without thought of gain. Flattery is often mere lip service without sincerity, or is done for one's own benefit.

Different cultures may have different judgments as to what is worth complimenting, whom can be or should be complimented, how to compliment with verbal expressions, and the appropriate frequency of compliments. Different languages also vary in verbal compliment expressions and their usage. The most frequent items for compliments in Chinese and English are one's appearance, (e.g. clothes, shoes, hair style, figure, good health), achievements, abilities, possessions (e.g. a big house, nice car, furniture, or even a beautiful vase), personality, wealth or good luck. Comparatively speaking, Chinese people have a wider range of complimentable items than Americans. Besides those mentioned above, Chinese often compliment others on their family members and their achievements, or their good luck because of their children's growing up, passing the entrance examination, going abroad to study, or getting married. Actually, anything S thinks that H is proud of can be a complimentable item.

Strategy 5: Use gratitude expressions

The usual way to show appreciation is to use gratitude expressions or to return other people's favors with gifts or service. Since the latter is within the sphere of nonverbal means, we will discuss only gratitude expressions.

The most common gratitude expression is 'thank you' and its equivalent in other languages, for example, sye-sye (謝謝) in Chinese. A word for 'thank you' exists in almost every language, but how and when it is used is not always the same. For Americans, this expression is used as a polite response to almost any kind of favor or compliment, big or small. They say 'Thank you' to a taxi-driver or a cashier after paying the bill, and say 'Thanks for calling' to someone on the phone. Americans also thank their parents or children for what they have done for them. Saying 'thank you' is quite automatic for Americans, and is regarded as a polite behavior even for trivial things, or cases where no great favor is granted.

In Chinese, besides sye-sye (謝謝), bu hau yi-sz (不好意思) 'to feel embarrassed (to accept your help, kindness, concern, compliment, or other favors)' is also a common expression of gratefulness, and implies that one does not deserve such a favor or kindness. Very often it is attached after sye-sye, such as in sye-sye, shr-dzai bu hau yi-sz (謝謝，實在不好意思。) 'Thank you, it is really embarrassing for me .

A Chinese who does not show or does not know how to show gratitude appropriately is criticized as impolite. However, in traditional Chinese society, there were some situations where verbal gratitude was not obligatory or appropriate. For example, a parent did not thank his child for doing errands, just as a child did not thank his father for providing food and shelter. A husband did not thank his wife for cooking a delicious dinner, and the wife did not thank her husband for fixing something. Appreciation and gratefulness between intimate family members were assumed and thanked only internally or by some redressive action some other day (e.g. to return parents' favors, a child was supposed to take care of his parents in their old age). Appreciation was seldom verbalized, for it might offend the addressee and this is indicated in the old Chinese saying jr-chin bu yan sye (至親不言謝) 'among the most intimate, gratefulness is not verbalized'. Reciprocity (i.e. to return the favor someday) probably is regarded far more important than verbal gratitude in China. This traditional practice of showing gratitude has changed a great deal in modern Chinese society. Every member of a family is now supposed or encouraged to express gratitude verbally for a favor or a gift they receive from other members of the family, although some families still follow tradition.

In the case of compliment or gift-giving, very often there are no overt positive gratitude expressions, but only negative humble rejections, such as na-li, na-li (哪裏、哪裏) 'Where? Where? (i.e. It's really nothing.)' on receiving a compliment, or bu-yung la, ni tai ke-chi le (不用啦、你太客氣了) 'You shouldn't do that; you are too polite' on receiving a gift. Besides, it is not common for a customer to thank a proprietor, a waiter, a barber, or a taxi-driver. These rules have changed somewhat in modern day usage. People have started extending expressions of gratitude to everyone who deserves it, including those mentioned above, but still it is not used as extensively as in the U.S.A.

Strategy 6: Use humble expressions

To satisfy another person's 'face want' for deference, one may either raise him or lower oneself. To raise others we use deferential forms of address or give compliments. To lower oneself we use humble expressions to deprecate ourselves. Acting humbly is another way of making H feel better or look better than oneself; therefore it is a positive politeness strategy, for it is beneficial to H. The common way of showing modesty is to use humble forms to refer to oneself, his family, or his belongings, or to abase the speaker's own ability or achievement.

To show modesty is not emphasized as much in the United States as in China. According to the American way of thinking, to abase oneself or deny the compliment may sometimes contradict with the values of agreement, appreciation, or sincerity, which are of even higher worth. Therefore, there are not many humble expressions, humble self-address forms or humble ways of referring to one's family members in English. In Chinese society, modesty expressed this way is regarded as good manners. Almost every adult Chinese knows how to use humble expressions on proper occasions. For example, on formal occasions, even in modern times, people still use humble forms, such as *jya-fu* (家父) 'my (humble) father', *nei-ren* (內人) 'my (humble) wife', or *bi-gwo* (敝國) 'my (humble) country'. When being introduced, one may use the ritualized humble or courtesy expressions, such as *ching dwo-dwo jr-jyau* (請多多指教) 'Please give me more instructions (implying that one is not as knowledgeable or competent as H)'. When giving a dinner party, the host often shows his modesty by saying *mei she-me tsai* (沒什麼菜) 'There is not much food' and/or *wo tai-tai* (or *nei-ren*) *bu-hwei dzwo-tsai* [我太太（或內人）不會做菜] 'My wife is not good at cooking' or *dwei-bu-chi jau-dai bu-jou* (對不起、招待不週) 'I am sorry for not providing good service'. Being unused to the Chinese way of humbleness, many Americans regard Chinese as insincere or overly subservient.

Strategy 7: Use in-group languages

Using an in-group language is one way to show group identity, and therefore mark solidarity. In-group languages include dialects (social dialects and geographical dialects), slang and jargon. In a multi-lingual society, people speaking the same language or dialect are often regarded as in-groups and feel closer to each other. This is why the Black people in the U.S.A. like to use Black English among themselves, and Chinese of different regions tend to use particular dialects to converse among themselves. Code-switching therefore becomes an important tool for expressing intimacy on informal occasions.

Strategy 8: Be clear and direct

To superiors, strangers or casual acquaintances, we use formal and indirect speech to show respect, but to people with whom we have a close relationship and juniors or subordinates, too much formal politeness may produce the opposite effect; it may spoil the relationship and push them away from us. Therefore, to show intimacy we use direct and clear speech. For example, to make a request of one's brother, it is not proper to use an ambiguous or a very indirect polite interrogative sentence, such as 'Would you mind closing the door for me?' A simple imperative sentence plus a courtesy phrase like 'please' or bai-two (拜託) in Chinese may convey intimacy best, such as:

(1) Close the door, please.

(2) bai-two gwan yi-sya men.
拜託關一下門。

Making a request is a cost to H, so usually we use strategies of indirectness (and sometimes ambiguity as well) to show politeness. Making an offer or invitation, however, is in general a benefit to H, and in such a case, a strong imposition conveyed by an imperative sentence means more sincerity and thus conveys a higher degree of politeness. For example, in Chinese, offering tea to a guest by asking yau-bu-yau he dyan cha? (要不要喝點茶？) 'Would you like to have some tea?' is not as sincere and polite as offering the tea and saying ching yung cha (請用茶) 'Please have some tea' at the same time, for the latter suggests a stronger imposition and allows little or no option for H to say 'No'.

Strategy 9: Joke or tease

'Since jokes are based on mutual shared background knowledge and values, jokes may be used to stress that shared background or those shared values' (Brown & Levinson 1978, p.129). Joking is a basic positive politeness strategy for putting H at ease and establishing a pleasant, lively atmosphere. A person with a sense of humor is often a welcome guest at a social gathering. Besides, jokes may be used to soften the addressee's uneasiness or embarrassment. For example, when a guest breaks the host's beautiful tea-set and feels guilty, if the host comforts her with a joke, like jyou-de bu chyu syin-de dzen-me hwei lai? (舊的不去，新的怎麼會來？) 'If the old one is not gone, how could there be a chance for the new one to come?' she would certainly feel much relieved.

Like joking, teasing also has the positive effect of establishing a bond of familiarity. Lack of politeness can sometimes be a sign of intimacy.

On formal occasions most people, especially in more conservative societies, do not have much choice but to be formal, polite, and reserved. But in informal situations people everywhere love to joke, tease, and put every one at ease. Chinese are no exception. Actually Chinese sometimes tease each other to a degree that may seem impolite to foreigners. Teasing is allowed only among people whom there is a really close relationship, and because of this condition, it becomes a sign of intimacy. Americans, too, highly praise a sense of humor and enjoy joking a lot.

Strategy 10: Listen attentively and remain quiet

A good conversationalist is one who knows both the art of speaking and the art of listening. Listening attentively is sometimes more important than talking, for it is a sign of showing interest in H. Therefore, listening attentively is a key for good conversation in both Chinese and American societies, and perhaps in all human communities.

For Chinese talking less is also a sign of modesty, for it implies that the speaker in this case regards the other's words as more valuable than his own. Talking too much could be interpreted as being fond of showing off. Therefore, young people, people of lower status, or people of less education often remain quiet in the presence of the older, the superior, or the learned.

In some European countries, especially in more conservative and traditional families (e.g. old German and British families), 'silence' also has a positive connotation of modesty, especially for the young and the subordinate. But in America, participation in social interaction is regarded as more important than 'remaining silent', which often has a bad connotation of disagreement, unhappiness, or lack of interest (see 3.2.2 Strategy 8). Listening attentively is a positive politeness strategy in American society, but remaining silent is not.

3.2.2 Strategies for negative politeness

Negative politeness is the fulfillment of Politeness Rule 3: If one has to do an FTA (face-threatening-act), minimize it with reredressive actions. Negative politeness strategies are the face-saving strategies.

Strategy 1: Use the interrogative sentence

The major tool to soften the face-threatening effect of an FTA such as a request is not to coerce H into accepting the act but to provide him the option of rejecting it instead. The most effective linguistic strategy for giving H options is to use interrogative sentences, such as:

(1) Can you please close the window?

(2) You couldn't possibly wait for twenty more minutes,
could you?

(3) Do you mind if I turn off the radio?

(4) Would it be convenient for you to mail the letter for me
on your way home?

(5) Can I talk to you for a few minutes now or some other
time?

Although sentences (1)-(5) are all interrogatives, their meaning of request can be inferred easily from conversational implicature. This strategy is called conventional indirectness (Brown and Levinson 1978, p.137), because the interrogation in these sentences functions more like a hedge of politeness than a real yes-no question. Sentences like (6) and (7) below can be real interrogatives or be used as an indirect accusation or an indirect request.

(6) Father: Who broke my typewriter?
John: I didn't.

(7) Husband: Where is today's newspaper?
Wife: I'll get it for you.

John and the wife above, based on their communicative competence, are responding to what the other person intends (i.e. accusation and request) rather to the literal meaning of the words used.

The Chinese language also makes use of interrogative sentences to express indirectness. As a matter of fact, using indirect speech as a politeness strategy is a universal phenomenon (Brown and Levinson 1978). Here are some common Chinese ways of showing syntactic indirectness:

(1) neng bu neng ching ni ba nei-ge bei-dz di ge wo?
能不能請你把那個杯子遞給我？
'Can you please pass me that glass?'

(2) ke bu ke-yi ma-fan ni jye-ge dyan-hwa?
可不可以麻煩你接個電話？
'Can I bother you to answer the phone?'
(i.e. Can you answer the phone?)

Usually the more indirect an utterance, the stronger negative politeness it conveys. The degree of indirectness is in proportion to the cost of an FTA imposed on H. Therefore, the costlier an FTA, the more indirectness is required. However, as mentioned in the previous section, directness may sometimes function as a signal of intimacy; therefore, showing too much indirectness to a close friend can put him in an uncomfortable situation.

Strategy 2: Use a hedge

A hedge is a particle, a word, or a phrase used to soften or minimize the degree of speech force, the speaker's commitment, or the threatening force of an FTA. Hedges, for example, like 'it seems', 'sort of', 'in a way', 'I guess', 'I suppose', or 'I think' in English, have the effect of 'lack of sureness', and thus leave H the option of disagreeing with the statement, while hedges like 'it's all right' and 'a little bit' have the effect of understating the quality or value of a state and thus reducing the force of unfavorable comments. For example:

(1) I guess I'll just take this one.

(2) It is sort of a stupid idea.

(3) It is a little bit hot here.

(4) It's O.K. I can manage it.

In Chinese, the commonly used hedges are hau-syang (好像) 'it seems', you dyan-er (有點兒) 'a little bit', wo syang (我想) 'I think', wo jywe-de (我覺得) 'I have a feeling', wo tsai (我猜) 'I guess', ma-ma hu-hu (馬馬虎虎) 'so so', hai ke-yi (還可以) 'it's O.K.' For example:

(1) zei-ge tang hau-syang you dyan-er tai-syan.
這個湯好像有點兒太鹹。
'This soup seems a little bit too salty.'

(2) wo jywe-de ni zei-yang dzwo, bu tai hau.
我覺得你這樣做，不太好。
'I have a feeling that it is not right for you to do it that way.'

(3) ma-ma hu-hu, hai gwo-de-chyu.

馬馬虎虎，還過得去。

'Not bad (Lit. so so). I still can get by with it.'

Strictly speaking, indirect speech is a kind of hedge, too (cf. R. Lakoff 1974, and Brown and Levinson 1978). It can be also used both to soften the speech force and to allow more options for the addressee.

Strategy 3: Give hints

To give a hint is one of the most commonly utilized off-record strategies (cf. 2.4). An off-record speech act is the extreme case of indirect speech. By hinting, the speaker says something that is either more general or different from what he means (though he intends to be understood). For example, the speaker may say, 'It's hot in here' instead of a clear statement like 'Open the window, please' or 'Turn on the air conditioner, please'. The addressee must make some reference to recover what was in fact intended. The act of hinting is a face-protecting strategy. It is usually employed in situations when the weight of an FTA is high, as in asking for a raise. If an employee asks for a raise, and his boss accepts it, it could prove to be an inconvenience and a monetary cost to the boss, and if the boss rejects it, it could cause a loss of face to the employee for being rejected. Under such circumstances, giving a hint instead of using a direct utterance may avoid a direct confrontation between S and H, and provides both with a way out. Therefore, hinting is a good tool for doing a costly FTA politely. Hinting is a strategy which makes the message intentionally ambiguous. It is the characteristic example of observing the 'Rules of Politeness' at the expense of clarity. People use it very often, especially Chinese, who sometimes value dignity and self-respect far more than anything else.

Strategy 4: Show hesitation

Showing hesitation can indicate the speaker's attitude toward what he is going to say, and is often the most salient clue to the presence of an FTA. Hesitation expressions may include, for example, 'um', 'er', 'uh', 'well', 'you see', 'you know', and 'the thing is....' in English, and eng (嗯), je-ge (這個)'this', and je-ge ma (這個嘛) 'as for this' in Chinese. Besides, stuttering and incomplete sentence may function as markers of hesitation too. Hesitation is the opposite of positive, forceful speech. It makes space for interruption, for the other person to object or change the subject or leave the field. Hesitating signals can be prolonged to emphasize S's difficulty about mentioning a specific topic.

Strategy 5: Give excuses

To avoid hurting H's feelings or embarrassing him when declining an invitation or a request, a speaker sometimes gives an excuse. These excuses are sometimes called 'little white lies', but they do not involve serious or obvious lying. Chinese make use of this strategy more frequently than Americans, as Chinese see a deviation from facts for the sake of saving another's face as a natural and ideal course to take. However, a lie which is outside the realm of politeness is regarded as a real lie, and Chinese have little tolerance for it. Some Westerners who are not used to this kind of social dealings may feel frustrated and regard Chinese as liars. But if they can distinguish these two types of excuses, they may understand why telling white lies is acceptable, and why it is used often in Chinese society.

Strategy 6: Apologize

By apologizing, the speaker can indicate his reluctance and his being sorry for having to impinge on H's 'face wants', and thereby redress that impingement and minimize the threatening force. There are generally three ways of apologizing: (1) to admit the impingement on H's 'face wants', (2) to indicate S's reluctance, and (3) to beg for forgiveness. Here are some examples from English and Chinese:

(In English)

(1) I know you are busy, but....

(2) I really hate to say this, but....

(3) I'm sorry....

(4) Please forgive me for....

(In Chinese)

(1) wo jr-dau je shr ge hen fan-jong-de gung-dzwo, ke-shr....
我知道這是個很煩重的工作，可是 ...
'I know this is a heavy and difficult job, but....'

(2) wo shr-dzai hen bu-ywan-yi ma-fan ni, bu-gwo....
我實在很不願意麻煩你，不過…
'I really hate to bother you, but....'

(3) dwei-bu-chi.... or hen bau-chyan da-rau ni....
對不起 很抱歉 打擾你
'I'm sorry.... ' or 'I'm very sorry for bothering you.... '

Strategy 7: Impersonalize S or H

One way of indicating that S does not want to impinge on H is to use impersonalization; that is to phrase the FTA as if the agent were other than S, or not S alone, or the addressee were other than H, or more than H alone. For instance, instead of saying the imposing sentence, 'You may go now', we can make it more polite by saying 'The car is ready', 'Here comes the car', or 'Let's go', where H is either not mentioned at all, or not mentioned alone. This is a universal strategy, and most of the expressions available in Chinese are also available in English. To avoid repetition, English examples are not given separately below, since the translations of the Chinese sentences are appropriate examples of impersonalization in English, too.

(1) jya-ru you-ren ywan-yi bang wo je-ge mang, na-jyou tai hao le.

假如有人願意幫我這個忙，那就太好了。

'It would be great if someone could help me out with this.'

(2) you-ren dzai bau-ywan dzwei-jin chr-dau-de ren tai dwo le.

有人在抱怨最近遲到的人太多了。

'Some people are complaining that there have been too many people arriving late recently.'

(3) da-jya dou syi-wang gung-sz neng-gou ge wo-men tyau-jeng syin-shwei.

大家都希望公司能夠給我們調整薪水。

'Everyone hopes (or we hope) that the company can give us a raise.'

(4) dwei-bu-chi, syan-sheng, je-li gwei-ding bu-neng chou-yan.

對不起，先生，這裏規定不能抽煙。

'Sorry, sir, according to the regulation here, no smoking is allowed.'

In the above sentences, 'I' and 'you' are avoided by the substitution of the impersonalizing agent 'someone' in sentences (1) and (2), and 'everyone/we' in sentence (3). Law and regulation, like the one in sentence (4), may function as an impersonalizing device too, by which the imposing force is lifted from S to something else. Besides using a regulation as a tangible reason, sentence (4) also uses passivization to avoid mentioning 'you'. These double impersonalizing devices make it a polite and formal sentence.

Strategy 8: Avoid silence

Silence, the absence of speech, is not a vacuum of communication in social interactions. It carries meaning too. It may convey respect, modesty, ignorance, shyness, lack of interest, reprimand, anger, agreement, disagreement, approval, or disapproval. The meanings vary according to the social contexts and cultural background. Generally speaking, Chinese have a more favorable attitude toward 'silence' than Americans. Silence for Chinese is a sign of modesty in the presence of a superior or an elder.

'Americans tend to interpret silence negatively. They seem to have an unwritten rule that in social conversations silence must be filled. A silence maintained too long is a sign of some kind of failure of rapport unless for some reason that silence is called for' (J. Hsu 1980, p.235). In the questionnaire on how Americans react to people remaining silent in a social gathering, 52 out of the 60 American respondents replied that it signals 'disagreement, disapproval', 'unfriendliness', 'being bored', 'ignorance of the topic of conversation'. Among the rest of the respondents, four made no comments and four indicated that they thought those people were shy. Interestingly enough, not a single one among these respondents regarded the silent behavior as a sign of respect or modesty. This is probably the most striking difference in the attitude toward 'silence' between Chinese and Americans.

Chinese and Americans also share a common view toward 'silence'. That is, it may sometimes signal disagreement. As mentioned earlier, agreement is a positive polite behavior, and disagreement is an FTA. In order to avoid disagreement, people often remain silent. Because of this strong connection between silence and disagreement, silence becomes an FTA too. In order to avoid the connotation of disagreement or unfriendliness which is associated with 'silence', people often talk for the sake of avoiding silence. This happens most frequently in greetings and the chit-chat or small talk in a social gathering. This kind of silence-avoidance conversation is called 'phatic communion' (see 4.3). Apart from such situations, Chinese in general regard silence more favorably. Silence-avoidance as a negative politeness strategy does not contradict with 'to listen attentively and remain quiet' as a positive politeness strategy (see Strategy 10 in 3.2.1), because silence may have different meanings in different situations.

In this chapter we have discussed 18 politeness strategies. They are not meant to be exhaustive, but only to illustrate how a competent speaker under the guidance of Rules of Politeness (consciously or subconsciously) may utilize linguistic forms available in his native language to express different shades of politeness. The variation or alternation in syntactic structure and/or lexical items leads to variations in social meaning. A choice of appropriate alternants from an array of various synonymous forms becomes a matter of politeness or impoliteness.

Chapter IV

Cases of Polite Language Usage

In this chapter we are going to compare four cases of polite language usage in Chinese and English. In the preceding chapters we have said that the politeness of a conversation is determined by how the 'face' of the interlocuters, especially the addressee, is promoted, preserved, saved, or threatened. Whether a speech act is polite or not in a culture is determined by cultural values and the linguistic strategies utilized to realize 'face wants'. Therefore, what is regarded as polite speech in one culture may turn out to be rude in another culture. From the analysis done in the present study and those done in other studies (e.g. Ferguson 1976, Goody 1978, Brown & Levinson 1978, Neustupný 1978b, Richards & Sukwiwat 1983), it can be confirmed that politeness is the prime pragmatic constraint on the forms of conversation in all human languages, and that the basic 'face wants' are quite similar across cultures; they differ only on their relative importance in each culture and the specific linguistic strategies employed to realize them. In the following discussion, we will first compare the 'face wants' underlying each case of polite language and compare the ratings of these 'face wants' in Chinese and American societies, and then give specific examples of polite language usage in these two languages to reveal the similarities and differences between them.

4.1 Forms of address

Forms of address are one of the areas of sociolinguistics which can best illustrate the close bond between language and society. They are used to announce the relative status and degree of solidarity between the interlocutors and the formality of the occasion. They can also be used to indicate the speaker's attitude toward the addressee, and at the same time determine the speech style for the following conversation. A misuse of the address form can spoil the interrelationship, loosen the social tie and even insult a person. Here is one well-known, sad example. Dr. Alvin Poussaint, a well-known black psychiatrist from Harvard, was riding in a southern city in the United States one day. A white policeman stopped him, and started the following conversation:

P: What's your name, boy? (the policeman asked)
D: Dr. Poussaint. I'm a physician.
P: What's your first name, boy?
D: Alvin. (muttered in profound humiliation)

The reason why Dr. Poussaint felt humiliated was, as explained by Ervin-Tripp (1969) and Chaika (1982), because he was insulted publicly. This was done through the application of American rules of address. In American society, to call a man 'boy' means that the hearer is a servant, an anonymous servant to anyone. 'Boy' can be used as a wholly impersonal form of address to any male inferior, as in 'Hey, boy! Get off my car' in front of a theater. What makes this all the more poignant is that, in the United States, a medical doctor is highly respected, and is almost always and everywhere called 'Doctor' or 'Dr. + Last Name' except between close friends who may call him by his first name (Chaika 1982:46). Here the white policeman kept addressing Dr. Poussaint as 'boy' and would not accept 'Dr. Poussaint' as a proper answer, in spite of the fact that 'Dr. + Last Name' is the proper way of addressing a medical doctor in American society. He hinted, though not overtly expressed, that he would follow another rule to address him as a faceless black not worthy of a title and respect. The above example illustrates how much a person can be humiliated and insulted by the social meaning of an address form.

Forms of address in a language are as complicated or as simple as the personal relationships and the social structure of the society. The sophisticated social system and the interwined multiple human relationship in Chinese society and the different cultural values between the Chinese and American peoples make quite different systems of address forms in Chinese and American English.

Rules of address are determined by the social variables of relative power, degree of solidarity and the formality of the social context. To use an address form appropriately, one has to consider the social variables first and decide which 'face wants' he has to pay respect to: (1) deference, (2) intimacy or (3) formality. In general, in American society intimacy takes precedence over the other two (cf. R. Lakoff, 1974). In Chinese society, generally deference and formality are favored. A Chinese may like to show intimacy to a superior or an elder, but he cannot discard deference either. Under such circumstances, he has to show both intimacy and deference by some device.

4.1.1 Chinese forms of address

Forms of address used as vocatives in face-to-face interaction can be classified into the following types.

1. Title alone (T):
   ju-ren (主任) 'director, chairman', lau-shr (老師) 'teacher', syan-sheng(先生) 'Mr., Sir', syau-jye (小姐) 'Miss'
2. Kinship Titles (KT):
   Chen-bwo-bwo (陳伯伯) 'Uncle Chen', Chen-ma-ma (陳媽媽) 'Aunt Chen', Lin-da-ge (林大哥) 'Brother Lin', Wang-syung (王兄) 'Brother Wang', a-yi (阿姨) 'aunt', shu-shu (叔叔) 'uncle'

3. **Surname + Title (SNT):**

   Chang ju-ren (張主任) 'Director Chang', Chen lau-shr (陳老師) 'Mr. Chen (lit: Teacher Chen)', Lin syan-sheng (林先生) 'Mr. Lin', Chang syau-jye (張小姐) 'Miss Chang'

4. **Personal Names:**

   (1) **Full name (FN):**

   Lin Wen-syung (林文雄), Chang Mei-ling (張美玲)

   (2) **Given name (GN):**

   Wen-syung (文雄), Mei-ling (美玲)

   (3) **Diminutive name (DN):**

   A-syung (阿雄), Syau-ling (小玲)

   (4) **Nickname (NN):**

   Lei-gung (雷公) 'thunder', Lau-shu (老鼠) 'mouse'

   (5) **Surname prefixed, or surname alone (SN):**

   Lau-Chang (老張) 'lit: Old Chang', Syau-Lin (小林) 'lit: Little Lin', Wang (王) 'Wang'

   (6) **Foreign name (FoN):** Mary, John

In this study we use the terms 'given name' and 'surname' instead of the familiar terms of 'first name' and 'last name', because in Chinese the 'given name' follows the 'surname' instead of preceding the 'surname'.

Titles are of two kinds: occupational titles (e.g. ju-ren 'director or chairman') and social titles (e.g. syan-sheng 'Mr.'). They can occur alone (T) or be combined with the surname (SNT). Kinship terms can also be used as a title, as kin-titles (KT), to address non-kins. These three types of address: T, SNT and KT, are the deferential or the so-called 'polite' forms of address. Among them, SNT is the most prevalent form. It can be used to superiors, seniors, equals, juniors, subordinates, friends or new acquaintances.Occupational title alone is used to superiors to show a high degree of deference, and social title alone is used to strangers, whose names are unknown. Besides deference the T form (Title alone) can indicate a greater degree of intimacy than SNT, and this is reflected in Table 1 on p.108. In casual or private situations, the percentage of the SNT occurrence drops, but the percentage of the T occurrence increases. Sometimes in a relaxed casual occasion a subordinate may address the head of his institution by the title lau-ban (老闆) 'boss' alone mockingly to show the intimate relationship.

KT is a device which can show both deference and intimacy to H by treating him as an elder, a relative or a family member. It is most frequently used to address an elder friend, neighbor or parents' friends. It is not very common among colleagues. However, among male colleagues, an SN or GN attached by -syung (兄) 'elder brother' can be used to show intimacy and deference. Sometimes, it can also be used to address someone younger to show the speaker's modesty. KT can also be employed to address an elder fellow student of the same school, such as sywe-jang (學長) 'the elder of the fellow students', sywe-jye (學姊) 'the elder sister of the fellow students'. In Chinese society, it is uncommon for children to address an adult or an elder by occupational or social titles, which are usually reserved for adults only. Children show respect to elders by KT.

Personal names used as address forms include six types. First, the full name (FN) is a complete name, consisting of an SN and a GN. It is usually used as a familiar and casual form of address to juniors or subordinates, or between classmates or close friends and colleagues who are equal in age and status. At school FN is the most common form of address among students, and also the form for the teacher to address the students. Nowadays, it even creeps into the family domain. In some families siblings sometimes address each other by FN, and the parents sometimes also call their children by FN. For children and students, the FN can serve as the formal form of address too, since they can not be addressed with any title yet.

The given name (GN) is used as an intimate form of address between close friends, or used by an elder to a younger person. It is used most frequently at home, in the neighborhood or in the dormitory. Many students from the metropolitan areas, such as Taipei, feel uneasy about using the over-intimate GN to address their classmates at school, even though they have a very close relationship. They prefer to use the familiar form FN to substitute for the GN. For those people FN functions like an intimate address form.

The diminutive name (DN) here includes two subtypes: one is an abbreviated form of the given name, and the other is ru-ming (乳名) 'milk name, or pet name'.[12] The abbreviated type is usually made up of the last character of a GN plus a prefix a- (阿) or syau- (小) 'little', such as A-syung (阿雄), Syau-ling (小玲). It can also be formed by reduplicating the last character, such as Ling-ling (玲玲) or Lung-lung (龍龍).

The other type of DN, the 'milk name', is usually given by a child's parents or an elder member of the family, and is used during one's early childhood. Usually it is named after a certain physical characteristic or special personality trait of the child; for example, a child may be called Ywan-ywan (圓圓), because he or she was plump and looked like a ball, or called Tyan-tyan (甜甜), because he or she is sweet, or Mau-mau (毛毛), because the child has little hair. 'Milk names' are sometimes based on the names of animals of the Chinese zodiac corresponding to the year of birth, such as Syau-lung (小龍) 'little dragon' or Syau-hu (小虎) 'little tiger'. A 'milk name' is a very intimate form of address and is usually used among family members, relatives, or family friends. Some people keep their milk names even after they are grown up, but usually they do not like them to be used outside the family circle.

A person may gain a nick name (NN) because of his/her personality, appearance or physical characteristics or because of the pronunciation of his/her name. For example, a person may be called Lau-dye (老爹) 'Old dad' because he is as nice as an 'old dad', 'E.T.' because he looks like the E.T. in the movie, or Mi-fun (米粉) 'rice noodle' because her given name Ming-fun (明芬) sounds like mi-fun. Nicknames are often used between close friends, classmates, or co-workers to show intimacy and bring some amusement or light atmosphere to the conversation.

GN, DN and NN are all intimate forms of address between equals, but they have different social domains. GN and DN are more common in the family circle and the neighborhood. NN is more common at school or in the workplace. FN generally does not show as much intimacy as these three forms, but as mentioned earlier, some people feel uneasy to use the very intimate form of address. For them FN is an intimate form of address.

A surname prefixed by lau- (老) 'old' or syau- (小) 'little' is used as an intimate form of address to friends or colleagues and sometimes to janitors too. It used to be a male form of address, but recently in some companies some young females, usually of lower status, are sometimes addressed by the surname prefixed by syau-. Because a monosyllabic word seldom occurs by itself in

Chinese, a surname or monosyllabic GN hardly ever occurs alone as an address form, but recently there has risen a new usage of using a surname alone as an intimate form of address among college students and between hospital colleagues.

A FoN (foreign name), most frequently an English first name, is sometimes used as an intimate address form in foreign trading companies, English Departments or other institutions where there is great contact with English. Many Chinese feel uneasy about using a GN or a DN to colleagues or friends to show intimacy. Using a foreign intimate form of address, however, seems not as uncomfortable or embarrassing for them. Therefore an FoN, instead of the native intimate form of address, is often used to show intimacy in those institutions. Besides these, nurses are often addressed by Miss + SN, and people in Japanese institutions often use Japanese terms of address to show solidarity.

The above six types of address forms derived from personal names are, in general, familiar, intimate forms of address in contrast with those with titles, which are used for deference and formality.

The distribution of address forms varies according to social group. For example, colleagues, friends, neighbors, classmates, teachers and students show different patterns of distribution. Each of them again varies according to the formality of the social context and other social factors. Below are two tables of the distribution of address forms, one among colleagues, and the other among friends.

Friends here include neighbors and casual acquaintances.

Table 1 shows that SNT is the most dominant form of address among colleagues, especially in formal contexts. This implies that people getting acquainted through work or business tend to maintain some formality and social distance. This helps explain why some people working in the same institution keep addressing each other by SNT for many years. Table 2 shows that friends prefer using the more familiar or intimate address forms. For example, the most dominant form to elders is KT. The most dominant form to equals is FN, and the most dominant form to juniors is the intimate forms of address. In both tables the shifting patterns from formal occasions to informal occasions indicate that SNT is the most formal form, for it consistently drops in the percentage of occurrence. FN is the most popular form used between equals and to juniors; however, when shifting from formal to informal situations, the occurrence of FN drops while the occurrence of other types of personal names of address rises. This indicates that although FN is the most commonly used familiar form of address, it does not show as much a high degree of intimacy as the other personal names of address.

Table 1: The distribution of forms of address among colleagues in Mandarin Chinese

	Forms of address	To superiors or elders				To equals				To subordinates or elders			
		F		I		F		I		F		I	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
	T	60	26.7	85	37.9	3	1.0	1	0.3	0	0	0	0
1	KT	1	0.4	10	4.4	2	0.6	3	1.0	0	0	2	0.8
	SNT	151	67.4	98	43.7	168	56.3	92	30.7	135	60.2	62	27.8
2	FN	2	0.8	5	2.2	103	34.5	90	30	58	25.9	60	26.9
	GN	0	0	1	0.4	2	0.6	16	5.3	5	2.2	25	11.2
	DN	0	0	0	0	2	0.6	19	6.3	2	0.8	16	7.1
3	NN	1	0.4	6	2.6	5	1.6	19	6.3	1	0.8	11	4.7
	FoN	4	1.8	10	4.4	3	1	27	7.0	11	4.9	18	8.1
	SN	5	2.2	9	4.0	10	3.3	33	11.0	11	4.9	29	13.0
	Total	224		224		298		100		224		223	

F: formal or public occasions
I: informal or private occasions
(1): deferential forms of address
(2): familiar forms of address
(3): intimate forms of address

Table 2: The distribution of forms of address among friends in Mandarin Chinese

Forms of address	To elders				To equals				To juniors			
	F		I		F		I		F		I	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
T	3	1.1	2	0.7	3	1.1	0	0	0	0	0	0
1 KT	178	69.8	198	75.9	5	1.9	11	4.2	10	3.8	16	6.1
SNT	57	22.0	38	14.6	32	12.0	29	11.0	21	8.0	12	4.5
2 FN	9	3.5	2	0.7	117	43.9	67	25.2	88	33.3	43	16.4
GN	2	0.7	3	1.1	16	6.0	51	19.2	68	25.7	71	27.0
DN	2	0.7	5	1.9	16	6.0	66	24.9	68	25.7	92	35.1
3 NN	2	0.7	8	3.1	53	19.9	35	13.2	3	1.1	24	9.2
FoN	0	0	0	0	8	3.0	3	1.1	2	0.8	2	0.8
SN	5	1.9	5	1.9	16	6.0	3	1.1	2	0.8	2	0.8
Total	258		258		266		265		264		262	

(1): deferential (2): familiar (3): intimate

4.1.2 American forms of address

Brown and Ford (1961) did pioneering research on forms of address in American English, and they classified address forms into the following categories:

1. Title alone (T): Doctor, Captain, Sir, Ma'am
2. Title + Surname (TSN): Mr. Jones, Professor Smith
3. Surname alone (SN): Jones, Smith
4. Given name (GN)
   (a) full form: Robert, William

(b) abbreviated form: Bob, Bill

(c) diminutized form: Bobby, Billy

5. Multiple name (MN):

to address a person by varying forms of address

They can be roughly divided into two major types: those with titles and those without. The former is used to show deference and formality, and the latter, to show familiarity and casualness. Surname alone is a familiar form of address, but is not commonly used. Title alone can only be applied to some highly respected titles, such as Doctor, Captain, President, Minister, Father (a priest). Other titles cannot occur alone; they are always used with the last name. If a person's name is unknown, then no form of address is used (called zero address by Evin-Tripp, 1969). It is not polite to address someone by 'Mister' or 'Mrs.' alone. To strangers, whose names are unknown, we may use 'Sir', 'Ma'am' or 'Miss' to address them. To a child or a teenager, if his name is unknown, then usually no name is used but only 'Excuse me' is used to attract his attention.

TSN is used reciprocally between new acquaintances or nonreciprocally by a person of lower status to a person of higher status. The address form T shows a lower degree of intimacy and a higher degree of deference than TSN. For example, 'in nonreciprocal military usage between ranks, the TSN may be used to immediate superiors but the T to remote colonels, generals, commanders, and admirals even though the names of these superiors are well known' (Brown and Ford, 1961, p.237).

Although surname alone is not a common form of address in American English, it represents a degree of intimacy greater than TSN but less than GN. It is usually only used in the armed forces or ball teams. Reciprocal SN is common between enlisted men until they become acquainted.[13]

Among the three varieties of GN, in general, the diminutized form is the most intimate, then the abbreviated form, and the full form last. However, the choice among the three alternatives is usually determined by the addressee himself, for each person may have his own preference. In contrast with the other types of address, the reciprocal exchange of GN (i.e. the interlocutors addressing each other by the GN) means a more intimate relationship between the interlocutors. Nonreciprocal TSN and GN patterns, where one person uses GN and the other TSN, imply a difference in status. As America is a country which values equality and intimacy more, some superiors often initiate the GN form of address, and ask their subordinates to return with GN after they have known each other for a period of time. Friends and colleagues of equal status move from mutual TSN to mutual GN very soon, ranging from a few minutes up to a few months. If a person still uses a TSN to address his colleague after working in the same place for quite a period of time, say one year, he will be regarded as unfriendly or snobbish, or else as unduly timid.

According to Brown and Ford (1961), a person may use the above mentioned varying forms of address (MN) to address the same person alternatively to show a greater degree of intimacy. Below are two tables showing the distribution of address forms among colleagues and friends. One additional address form, intimacy names (IN), such as 'honey' and 'sweetheart', is added on the table.

Table 3 and Table 4 indicate that in American English the primary address forms among colleagues and friends are TSN (Title + surname) and GN. Except to elders and superiors, GN is the dominant form. Even in formal or public occasions, more than twenty-five percent of the people address their superiors or elder friends by GN. 'A trend toward solidarity has been present in the United States for some time', as Hook (1984:186) claims.[14]

Unlike the Chinese, Americans do not use kinship terms among colleagues and friends, as reflected in the absence of KT in tables 3 and 4. To show intimacy among colleagues or friends Americans use GN, which indicates no distinction between the vertical and horizontal social distance (see 2.7.7). In other words, intimacy in the American sense is more on an equal basis. People who are regarded as having a close relationship are addressed reciprocally like equals without making the distinction in age or status. Besides, there is another difference between American and Chinese patterns

Table 3: The distribution of forms of address among colleagues in American English

Forms of address	To superiors or elders				To equals				To subordinates or juniors			
	F		I		F		I		F		I	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
T	12	7.4	10	6.1	0	0	0	0	3	1.9	2	1.3
TSN	103	63.1	84	51.5	22	11.6	2	1.1	20	12.5	2	1.3
SN	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0	1	0.5	0	0.0	1	0.0
GN	48	29.4	69	42.3	164	86.7	182	95.8	135	84.9	153	95.6
IN	0	0.0	0	0.0	3	1.6	5	2.6	1	0.6	2	1.3
Total	163		163		189		190		159		160	

IN: intimacy names (e.g. honey, sweetheart)
F: formal or public occasions
I: Informal or private occasions

Table 4: The distribution of forms of address among friends in American English

Forms of address	To elders				To equals				To juniors			
	F		I		F		I		F		I	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
T	13	5.4	6	2.5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TSN	165	68.8	149	62.3	6	2.1	1	0.3	4	1.7	0	0
SN	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
GN	60	25.0	82	34.3	270	95.7	272	95.7	222	97.3	224	99.6
IN	2	0.8	2	0.8	6	2.1	11	3.9	0	0	1	0.4
Total	240		239		282		284		228		225	

of address. That is, Americans do not use full name (FN) to address colleagues or friends, as revealed in the absence of FN in tables 3 and 4, because to address someone by a FN is rude in America. If it is used at all, it is used in a reprimanding sense, for example from an angry parent to his/her child.

Chinese and American English do share some similarities in the classification of address form and the patterns of addressing, which are quite clear in the previous discussion. Now we would like to point out some differences which often cause problems in intercultural communication. First, in American society, the time period of shifting from the mutual TSN, or from the nonreciprocal TSN-GN pattern, to the mutual GN is pretty short, but in Chinese society this time period is quite long, sometimes as long as a whole life time. For example, a student would never address his teacher by the GN, even after they become close friends or colleagues after graduation. Many colleagues remain on mutual SNT for many years. Sometimes even after the superior has suggested and tried to initiate a reciprocal GN, the subordinate still hesitates and dares not to move closer for fear of being criticized as being impolite. Secondly, in American society, people of the same generation make no difference in seniority and receive no different forms of address. For example, siblings, uncles and aunts are not further distinguished into the order of seniority, and friends make no such distinction either. Very often people of descending generations may address those of ascending generations by a GN form after it is initiated by the elder. A Chinese is not allowed to do that. Thirdly, Chinese use the KT to address non-kins very often. For children, KT is the only form to address an adult. Most Americans, on the contrary, reserve kinship titles for those with real kin relations only. Some Americans can accept the address of 'Uncle/Aunt + GN', since there are more immigrants using such address form, but generally they prefer TSN or FN.

4.2 Compliment responses

The love of praise is part of human nature. A sincere compliment is an important tool to give people confidence and encouragement, and thus make people feel happy. Complimenting behavior is quite similar across languages except that the complimented items may differ somewhat as to what are evaluated higher in the culture. Compliment responses, however, differ quite remarkably between Chinese and Americans. Therefore, we will discuss only compliment responses here.

Upon receipt of a compliment, a recipient may respond to it by an appreciative or a modest remark. For most Chinese, being modest is regarded as more important than being appreciative in the case of compliment responses, because to accept a compliment overtly entails agreement with that which is being praised, which in turn might imply immodesty. For Americans, being appreciative is regarded as more important than showing modesty by making a denial of what is praised, which in turn implies a disagreement with the taste or judgment of the person giving the compliment. These different assumptions on the proper behavior in compliment responses often lead to misunderstandings between Chinese and Americans, and sometimes even between people of the same community or the same family. Here is an example cited from Pomerantz (1978, p.79):

> DEAR ABBY:
>
> My wife has a habit of down-grading sincere compliments. If I say, 'Gee, Hon, you look nice in that dress,' her reply is likely to be, 'Do you really think so? It's just a rag my sister gave me.'
>
> Or if I tell her she did a great job cleaning up the house, her response might be, 'Well, I guess you haven't seen the kids' room.'
>
> I find it hard to understand why she can't accept a compliment without putting herself down. And it hurts me a little. How do you explain it, Abby?
>
> PERPLEXED
>
> DEAR PERPLEXED:
>
> Your wife lacks self-confidence and feels somewhat embarrassed to accept praise. Don't be hurt. Most people have difficulty accepting compliments with grace.

The above example represents the reaction of most, though not all, Americans toward people's rejection and downgrading of a compliment. The husband was 'perplexed' and hurt by his wife's way of responding to compliments. Dear Abby, a famous American columnist, turned the wife's rejecting of compliments into a symptom of her low self-esteem. Their reactions indicate that the model form of a compliment response is to accept a compliment gracefully with 'thank you', 'thanks', or 'thank you so much', and deviations from that model may constitute noticeable, puzzling, troublesome, and symptomatic phenomena (Pomerantz 1978, p.82).

From the Chinese viewpoint, however, the wife's response is quite normal and appropriate. The different judgments on the appropriateness of compliment responses are due to the different ratings on modesty and appreciation in these two cultures.

The two 'face wants' of modesty and appreciation function as pragmatic constraints on the appropriateness of compliment responses in both the Chinese and American languages. From the returned questionnaire responses, it is found that in most situations Chinese observe the modesty constraint and Americans observe the appreciation constraint, but there are exceptions. The two constraints of modesty and appreciation may clash with each other, for modesty means to avoid the implication of self-praise and thus entails putting down or disagreeing with the praise, and appreciation implies agreeing with the praise.[15] Therefore, in actual communication people either make a choice between these two, or adopt a compromising device to avoid the clash between these two constraints. They may show appreciation or agreement first and then downgrade the prior compliment somewhat (e.g. 'Thank you, but this is really nothing special'), or accept the compliment and return one to the compliment offerer (e.g. 'Thanks, and you look great too'), or shift the topic a little bit (e.g. 'Oh, this is a gift from my sister') (cf. Pomerantz 1978). Now, we will analyze the patterns of compliment responses in Mandarin Chinese and American English.

4.2.1 Compliment responses in Mandarin Chinese

Compliment responses in the Chinese language can be classified into three major types: (1) acceptance, (2) rejection, and (3) compromise, and each can be subclassified into several types.

Type 1. Rejection

(1a) To reject humbly and politely

e.g. A: ni-de wen-jang sye-de jen hau.
你的文章寫的眞好。

'Your article is written very well.'

B: na-li, na-li?
那裏，那裏？

'Lit. where, where?'

Other expressions of this type include na-you (那有) 'No (Lit. Where could that be?)', dzen-me-hui ne

(怎麼會呢?) 'How could that be?', and some formal ones, like nin gwo-jyang le (您過獎了) 'You overpraise (it or me)', and bu gan-dang (不敢當) 'not deserve it'. Na-li (那裏) is the most typical, standard expression of compliment response in Chinese. It is a negation of the prior compliment.

(1b) To downgrade the compliment, or sometimes point out a weakness.

e.g. A: ni er-dz jen gwai.
你兒子眞乖。
'Your son is a good boy.'

B1: jen-de ma?
眞的嗎？
'Really?'

or B2: (na-li), ni mei kan-dau ta dzai jya-li you dwo pi.
那裏，你沒看到他在家裏有多皮。
'No, you haven't seen how naughty he is at home.'

(1c) To reject the compliment strongly or bluntly

e.g. A: ni jin-tyan hau pyau-lyang.
你今天好漂亮。
'You look beautiful today.'

B1: hau-le, ni bye gei wo dai gau-mau-dz.
好了，你別給我戴高帽子。
'All right, don't put a high hat on me.
(i.e. Don't flatter me.)'

B2: ni shaw-lai, wo tsai bu syin.
你少來，我才不信。
'Cut that out. I don't believe it.'

Other expressions of this type include: bye hu-shwo (別胡說) 'Don't talk nonsense, or don't fool me', swan-le ba (算了吧) 'Forget it', and some rude ones, like bye pai-ma-pi (別拍馬屁) 'Don't flatter me', wu-lyau (無聊) '(You're) boring', ni you-mey-you wen-ti (你有沒有問題？) 'Is there anything wrong with you?' or ni you she-me chi-tu (你有什麼企圖) 'What is your motive? What do you want?' The main idea of these expressions is to deny the truth of the compliments to show modesty, though too strongly.

Type (1c) responses sound rude and gauche. They can be used only among very close friends of similar age or family members. They are quite popular among high school students, for they serve as symbols of intimacy, carefreeness, freshness and the counter culture of the youth.

Type (1a) and type (1b) are the typical traditional Chinese ways of compliment response. Although the rejection type does not convey the recipient's appreciation overtly, the appreciation is assumed by both parties. Therefore, the compliment offerer usually is not offended by the absence of an overt appreciation expression, nor by the rejection. Sometimes after being rejected, the compliment offerer repeats the compliment again to reaffirm his viewpoints and sincerity.

Type 2. Acceptance

(2a) To accept the compliment appreciatively and gracefully

e.g. A: ni nyu-er hau you li-mau.

你女兒好有禮貌。

'Your daughter is very polite.'

B1: sye-sye.

謝謝。

'Thank you.'

or B2: sye-sye ni-de kwa-jyang.

謝謝你的誇獎。

'Thank you for your compliment.'

These types of expressions are used more formally and sociably, and are common between people with some social distance. This type of usage is a new development being influenced by the western languages, especially English. They are gaining more popularity among college students and people who have more contact with western cultures. They are common among little children, too. This may be because children have not mastered the rejection type yet, and partly because many parents and kindergarten teachers nowadays regard this type as more elegant and therefore teach children to respond in this way.

(2b) To accept it with a smile without verbal expression. This type of nonverbal response happens more often with children or shy girls who have less experience in social interactions, and are not used to social courtesy expressions yet.

(2c) To agree with the compliment and upgrade it with strong second evaluation terms braggingly, but often in a humorous way.

e.g. ①A: ni je-tau si-jwang jen shwai.
你這套西裝眞帥。

'Your suit looks handsome.'

B: dang-rang lo, ni mei-kan shr chwan dzai shey shen-shang?
當然囉，你沒看是穿在誰身上？

'Of course, don't you see who is wearing it?'

②A: ni chi-che ji-shu jen gau-ming
你騎車技術眞高明。

'Your riding skill is great.'

B: je swan she-me, ni hai mei kan-dau wo-de jen ben-ling.

這算什麼，你還沒看到我的真本領。

'This is nothing. You haven't seen my real skill yet.'

Like type (1c), type (2c) is used only among people with close relationships on casual occasions. They are especially popular among high school students, who are fond of saying something different from the traditional way among their peers. Though sounding impolite, type (2c) is one way of showing intimacy and humor.

Type 3. Compromise

(3a) To agree but downgrade the compliment somewhat

e.g. A: ni dzwei-jin sheng-yi ywe dzwo ywe da.

你最近生意越做越大。

'Your business is getting bigger recently.'

B: ma-ma hu-hu, hai ke-yi.

馬馬虎虎，還可以。

'So, so, not too bad. (Lit. Horse-horse tiger-tiger)'

(3b) To shift the referent to something else

e.g. A: je-chwan syang-lyan hen bye-jr.

這串項鍊很別緻。

'This necklace looks different and special.'

B1: je shr wo ba-ba sung wo-de.

這是我爸爸送我的。

'It is a gift from my father.'

or B2: wo dzai lai-lai bai-hwo mai-de.

我在來來百貨買的。

'I bought it at the Lai-Lai Department Store.'

(3c) To return a compliment to the prior speaker

e.g. ① A: ni fang-dz bu-jr-de hau pyau-lyang.

你房子佈置得好漂亮。

'Your house is decorated beautifully.'

B: ni-jya geng pyau-lyang.

你家更漂亮。

'Your house is even more beautiful.'

② A: ni sheng-yi syan-dzai dzwo-de hen cheng-gung.

你生意現在做得很成功。

'Your business is very successful now.'

B: na dou shr kau ni-men da-jja de bang-mang.

那都是靠你們大家的幫忙。

'That was all due to your help.'

(3d) To show both acceptance and rejection

e.g. A: ni ne-jyan gung-dzwo dzwo-de hen hau.

你那件工作做得很好。

'That job of yours was well done.'

B: na-li, na-li, sye-sye.

那裏，那裏，謝謝。

'Lit. Where? Where? Thank you.'

(3e) To divert or distort the original meaning of the compliment intentionally to make fun of oneself

e.g. ①A: ni jen you fu-chi, er-nyu dou jang-da le.

你眞有福氣，兒女都長大了。

'You are lucky (and admirable). All of your children are grown up now.'

B: shr a, you fa-fu, you you chi shou, dang-rang you fu-chi.

是啊，又發福，又有氣受，當然有福氣。

'Yeah, I'm both fa-fu (gaining weight) and have chi (upsetting things) to bear. Of course I have fu-chi (good luck).'

②A: ni ywe kan ywe syau-sa.

你越看越瀟灑。

'The more (I) look at you the more handsome you look.'

B: ke-syi shr sha-gwo de sha.

可惜是傻瓜的傻。

'It's a pity. It is the sha of sha-gwo (a fool).'

Type (3e) usually makes use of homophones or puns to create humor and indicate modesty.

Overall, among the three types of compliment responses in Chinese, the rejection type is the most prevalent, and next the compromise type, and the acceptance type is the last. Each type can be subdivided into the more polite and the less polite. The choice among those types is subject to various social factors, such as sex, age, degree of intimacy, and social context. For example, women tend to use more humble, polite forms. People with close relationships are more likely in casual contexts to use the less polite or the bragging types. Age is a very important factor. For example, adults, between 20-55, tend to use more formal, polite rejection types. Older people often use polite rejection types among their friends, but sometimes they like to add some remarks of encouragement when responding to children or young people, such as je mei she-me, buguo jr-yau ni nu-li, yi-hou ye hwei gen wo yi-yang (or bi wo geng-hau) [這沒什麼，不過只要你努力，以後也會跟我一樣（或比我更好）] 'This is nothing, but if you work hard, some day you will be as good as (or even better than) I'. Teenagers prefer the blunt and humorous types among their peers. Children, who are not socially mature yet, either say nothing in response, or accept the compliment frankly, or shift the topic by saying something like je-shr wo ma-ma mai-gey wo de (這是我媽媽買給我的) 'My mother bought this for me', or wo hai you lyang-jyan geng pyau-lyang de dzai wo jya（我還有兩件更漂亮的，在我家）'I have got two more beautiful ones at home'. Children's behavior may prove that using social rejection expressions are socially acquired at a later stage of one's life.

4.2.2 Compliment responses in American English

The American way of compliment responses is classified into the same three categories.

Type 1. Rejection

(1a) To reject mildly or downgrade somewhat

e.g. ①A: You have a beautiful house.
B: Why, thank you.
②A: You look beautiful.
B: You're kidding.
③A: You look terrific.
B: Oh, I do? Thank you.
④A: What a nice haircut.
B: Oh, I think she cut it too short.

Other expressions of this type include 'Do you really think so?', 'Really?', 'Oh, it's old', etc.

(1b) To reject strongly (or bluntly)

e.g. A: What a great meal!

B: Oh, cut it out.

Other expressions of this type include 'No way', 'Get lost', 'That's not true', but they are rarely used, except between people with a really close relationship, and they are expressed in a joking way. Compared with Chinese, Americans use this type much less frequently, and when they do, they sometimes say 'Thank you' as well, as in sentence (1a-3) above.

Type 2. Acceptance

(2a) To accept the compliment with appreciation and gracefulness

e.g. A: You look great.

B1: Thank you.

or B2: Thanks.

Other expressions include 'Thank you very much', 'That's nice of you to say so', 'How nice, thank you', 'I'm glad to hear that', as mentioned earlier. This type is the model way to respond to compliments in American English, and the data indicate that about 80% of responses belong to this type.

(2b) To nod the head or smile without a verbal response

(2c) To agree with the compliment

e.g. ① A: You're so nice.

B: I know.

②A: Those jeans fit you good.

B: I think so. (or I guess so.)

③A: You always make everyone feel welcome.

B: It's easy.

Type (2c) are not very polite. Sometimes, they may show acceptance of the compliment first and then go one step further to find fault with the compliment offerer, as in:

④A: You look nice today.

B: Why, do I look lousy every other day?

Responses like sentence (4) above are not common, and are occasionally used among close friends, classmates or family members. They are often said in a humorous tone. This type of response in American society is not as common as in Chinese society.

Type 3. Compromise

(3a) To shift the referent

e.g. ①A: The meal is good.

B: It's a new recipe I tried.

②A: That's a beautiful lamp.

B: I just got it this week.

(3b) To return a compliment to the first speaker

e.g. ①A: I love your dress.
B: Oh, thank you. Yours is nice too.
②A: You're smart.
B: Thank you, you are too.

In American English, among the three types of compliment responses, the acceptance type outweighs the other two types. Between the rejection type and compromise type, the former has a little bit higher percentage of occurrence than the latter.

The ranking of these three types in Mandarin Chinese and American English are presented in the following table.

Table 5: Compliment responses in Chinese and English

	Rejection	Acceptance	Compromise
Chinese	50%	22%	28%
English	12%	80%	8%

Table 5 indicates that Chinese are more used to the rejection type, while Americans prefer the acceptance type. The compromise type, though providing a solution for the clash between modesty and appreciation, often sounds indirect and confusing, and therefore is not common in American English. In Chinese the compromise type still has a slightly higher percentage than the acceptance type.

This may indicate that many Chinese still feel more comfortable with non-acceptance (i.e. the compromise type) than total acceptance. No matter which type a Chinese adopts, he often habitually starts with a token of rejection *na-li*, and an American, on the contrary, often habitually starts with a token of acceptance 'thank you'. Therefore, a Chinese may sound impolite and unappreciative to an American, for the Chinese may never utter a single 'thank you' but keep rejecting the compliment. Here is a real example that happened between a Chinese college student and a senior female American professor.

Professor Water: Nancy, you have such a beautiful voice. Have you taken singing lessons?
Nancy: No, I haven't.
Prof. W.: Oh, but I can hardly believe it. Your singing sounds so professional.
Nancy: No, I really haven't.
Prof. W.: But you sing so well. You must have had some instruction. And your voice is so beautiful.
Nancy: No! (Sounding angry and exasperated) I haven't taken any lessons.

(At this point, Prof. W. looked surprised and fell silent).[16]

Prof. Water thought Nancy got angry, because Nancy denied the compliment each time. Her repetition of the compliment twice was meant to show her sincerity of the compliment. Americans, like Chinese, may use repetition as a way of making a compliment stronger, but this is not a common practice, especially repeating twice, for an American on receiving a compliment usually accepts it with 'thank you', which helps to end the compliment dialogue. Actually Nancy in the above example was not angry. Her insistence of rejection probably meant two things: first, to deny the suggestion that she had taken any instruction, and, second, to deny that she had a beautiful voice. If Nancy were an American, the conversation would probably had gone something like this:[17]

Prof. W.: (Same)
N.: Thank you, but I haven't taken any lessons.
Prof. W.: (Same)
N.: No, I haven't. But it's nice of you to say so.

The result of the data analysis also indicates that Chinese teenagers use more blunt types of rejection and acceptance than Americans. This may show that while most Chinese place a great deal of emphasis on formality, deference and modesty, young people on the other hand seem to love to get rid of formality and tradition on casual occasions to show intimacy and a sense of humor. Comparatively speaking, there are more varieties of compliment responses in

Chinese than in English, ranging from the very formal and modest types to the very blunt ones.

4.3 Greetings

The unique characteristic of greetings is lack of informational content. It is a silence-avoidance device in social encounters, because an encounter with an acquaintance without saying anything is threatening. A greeting is probably a typical example of the fact that the exchange of words is not for the sake of conveying information, but for the social functions of establishing and maintaining friendship and show concern for others. This is what the cultural anthropologist Bronislaw Malinowski (1923) called 'phatic communion'. The purpose of a phatic communion is sociability. It is a way of keeping the channels open even when no information is being conveyed. When we see someone we know, we are obliged to greet him even when we are not in the mood to get into a conversation. An omission of even a casual greeting may invite people to call us snobs, and break a social tie. A person greeted for the same reason of phatic communion is supposed to give a brief positive response, not to launch into a report of what is actually happening or his actual health condition, even if he doesn't feel good at that moment. A person only gives an honest reply to a very close friend or a family member.

A greeting itself is a speech act which shows friendship and concern. The absence of a greeting means the absence of friendship and concern. A greeting is expressed either by verbal or nonverbal language. The nonverbal language includes nodding, smiling, bowing, handshaking, handwaving, hugging, kissing, eye contact, and so forth. The verbal language shows a wide range of variation. It varies according to cultures, types of social situations, and the relationship between the interlocutors. However, the kernel message behind these varied verbal expressions is the same: showing the happiness to see the person encountered. In spite of the lack of informational content, greetings are conventionalized. Each language has its own greeting expressions, and its own rules to govern the usage of these expressions. A person simply has to learn and follow these rules in order to be polite. A wrong use of an expression may convey the opposite message.

4.3.1 Greetings in Mandarin Chinese

There is a wide range of greeting forms in Chinese. They can be classified into two major types: the declarative type and the question type. Each type is subdivided into several, and they are generally arranged from more formal to less formal in the following:

Type A: Declarative forms

1. dzau. 早。

   'Good morning'

2. ni/nin hau. 你/您好。

   'I wish you well.' or 'Good day.'

3. (a) hai! 嗨！

   'Hi!'

   (b) hey! 嘿！

   'Hey!'

Type B: Question forms

4. (a) jin-lai hau ma?

   近來好嗎？

   'How have you been doing recently?'

   (b) hau-jyou bu jyan, jin-lai dzen-me-yang?

   好久不見，近來怎麼樣？

   'Haven't seen you for a long time, how have you been doing these days?'

   (c) hau-jyou bu-jyan, syan-dzai dzai na-er gau-jyou?

   好久不見，現在在那兒高就？

   'Haven't seen you for a long time, where are you working now?'

   (d) dzwe-jin mang-bu-mang?

   最近忙不忙？

   'Have you been busy recently?'

5. (a) sya-ban la?

下班啦？

'Are you off from work?'

(b) chu-chyu a?

出去啊？

'Going out?'

(c) chyu mai tsai a?

去買菜啊？

'Going out for grocery shopping?'

(d) chu-chyu chr-fan a?

出去吃飯啊？

'Going to eat out?'

6. (a) chr-bau le ma? or chr-gwo fan mei?

吃飽了嗎？or吃過飯沒？

'Have you eaten?'

(b) chyu na-li?

去那裏？

'Where are you going?'

(c) hey, syan-szai ju na-li?

嘿，現在住那裏？

'Hey, where do you live now?'

7. (a) ni dzen-me ye dzai je-li?

你怎麼也在這裏？

'How come you are here too?'

(b) jin tyan she-me fung ba ni chwei-lai?
今天什麼風把你吹來？
'What wind brought you here today?'

(c) hey, syan-(dzai) dzai na-li fa da tsai.
嘿，現在在那裏發大財？
'Hey, where are you making a big fortune now?'

(d) dzwei-jin dou dwo-dau na-li chyu le?
最近都躲到那裏去了？
'Where have you been hiding these days?'

Type A and Type B greetings may either stand alone or combine together, with Type B following Type A. The formal-informal sequence above is based on my own observation and the collected data. They are not absolute, but only represent a general tendency. Many of them can function both as formal and informal greetings. For example, dzau (早) 'good morning' can be used with almost any kind of person, under either formal or informal occasions.

Type (5) is a special type of Chinese greeting. It is formed according to the immediate situation. The speaker asks about something very obvious, so strictly speaking it is not a question at all. What the speaker intends to do is to break the silence and say something, but something which does not require much effort from the addressee in reply. This type of question sounds like nonsense, but the nonsense here is no nonsense at all. It conveys the speaker's attitude and friendship to the hearer. This type of question often bothers foreigners, for they may regard these phatic questions as real inquiries which demand truthful answers.

Type (6) is a common way for Chinese to show their concern by asking something personal, but the addressee is not required to give a truthful or detailed answer. He may only give a vague answer. Again, this is the type of question which often irritates Americans, because from the American point of view, these questions sound like they are intruding on personal privacy. However, as mentioned in 2.7.6, the Chinese concept of privacy differs from the American, so what are regarded as considerate greetings for Chinese may sound impolite to Americans. What are phatic questions in Chinese may be regarded as true questions.

Type (7) greetings are used between close friends. They make use of exaggerated expressions, such as fa da tsai 'make a big fortune', or use humor, such as sentences (7b) and (7d), to show humor and solidarity.

Replies to greetings in Chinese are not quite fixed or strict. One may give a truthful and detailed answer, but normally a vague one to show his acknowledgement and to return his friendship and concern is considered sufficient.

For example, responses to Type A greetings usually are the repetition of the prior greeting, or sometimes the greeted person may give a Type B greeting in return. Replies to Type B greetings are usually only vague answers, for example, the following are possible replies to greetings in (4b), (4c), (5a), (6a) and (6b) above, now repeated below:

(1) A: hau-jyou bu-jyan, jin lai dzen-me-yang?
好久不見近來怎麼樣？
'Haven't seen you for a long time, how have you been doing these days?'
B: ma-ma-hu-hu, ni ne?
馬馬虎虎，你呢？
'So so. How about you?'

(2) A: Hau-jou bu-jyan, syan-dzai dzai na'-er gau-jyou?
好久不見，現在在那兒高就？
'Haven't seen you for a long time, where are you working now?'
B: dzai yi-jya mau-yi gung-sz shang-ban.
在一家貿易公司上班。
'I am working in a trading company.'

(3) A: sya-ban la?
下班啦？
'Are you off from work?'
B: shr-de, sya-ban le.
是的，下班了。
'Right, I am off from work.'

(4) A: chr-bau le ma?

吃飽了嗎？

'Have you eaten?'

B1: chr-bau le. or B2: hai-mei.

吃飽了。 還沒。

'(I) have eaten.' 'Not yet.'

(5) A: chyu na-li?

去那裏？

'Where are you going?'

B1: chyu kan peng-you.

去看朋友。

'To see a friend.'

or B2: swei-byan dzou-dzou.

隨便走走。

'I am just going for a stroll.'

4.3.2 Greetings in American English

Greetings in American English can be divided into two major types: declarative forms and question forms. The expressions given below are generally arranged from more formal to less formal:

Type A: Declarative forms

1. Good morning (afternoon, evening).

2. Hello (form of address).

3. Hi (form of address).

4. Hi there.

Type B: Question forms

5. How are you?

6. How are you doing?

7. How are things?

8. How's it going?

9. What's up?

10. What's new?

Both types may stand alone or be combined together, with Type B following Type A. The replies to greetings may include the following types:

1. Fine 2. (Very) good 3. Great 4. All right 5. O.K. 6. Not too bad	+ (thank you) + (thanks)	And you? How are you? How about you? What about you?

Immediately after greetings if there is a period of time to continue the conversation, people usually bring up some safe topics to chat about. This type of conversation, called 'small talk', may strengthen social ties one step further. Topics for small talk in American English usually include weather, a person's work or educational background, hobbies, sports or family, but never too personal questions, such as age, marital status, or money matters. Below are common questions for initiating small talk in English:

1. How's your job going?
2. How is school?
3. How is your family (or your wife, your girl friend)?
4. Heard from home lately?
5. Are you still working at xyz company?
6. Have you seen (so and so) recently?
7. What did you think of last night's baseball game?
8. Are you going to spend Christmas with your folks this year?
9. Have you heard of any New Year's parties worth going to?
10. What are you doing for Christmas?
11. Do you still like Taiwan (or New York City)?
12. Have you seen that new movie, ...?
13. How's your dissertation (thesis/paper/project) coming along?
14. There's going to be a big jazz festival this weekend. Are you going?
15. How's your back (or arm) now?
16. Are you planning a trip for your vacation?
17. Oh, I love your shoes (or new dress)!

18. Done any traveling lately?

19. Have you ever seen such a beautiful day?

20. Nice day, isn't it?

Almost all of the above questions are suitable for small talk initiators in Chinese, except that Chinese may also ask about marital status, money matters, and occasionally about age, too, because these are considered safe topics in the Chinese society. In recent years, because of the influence of American culture, some people avoid using them as topics for small talk. Besides, as mentioned in 2.7.6, a person's secrets or personal matters which may embarrass the addressee are topics which are avoided in the Chinese social interaction.

In short, when greeting someone we are not only showing him our concern and friendship, but also showing respect for his privacy. This phenomenon is universal. What makes the differences in greeting forms in different languages is mainly the way of showing concern and the meaning and scope of privacy.

4.4 Requests and rejections

Making a request is an FTA (a face-threatening-act), and rejecting a request is an FTA, too. The former violates H's 'face want' of being unimpeded and the latter violates H's 'face want' of being accepted. An FTA is by nature a cost and an unpleasant thing to the person affected by it. Therefore, if one has to request or reject, he has to do it tactfully with some redressive action to minimize or soften the force of the FTA by means of the negative politeness strategies discussed in 3.2.2. They are in essence different ways of showing indirectness.

Chinese and Americans differ quite remarkably in the degree of directness used in request and rejection. Chinese are in general much more indirect than Americans. This is probably the reason why Chinese are often shocked at Americans' unsubtlety, crudity or harshness, and why Chinese are often described by Americans as ambiguous and inscrutable. We may say that when Rules of Clarity conflict with Rules of Politeness, Americans in general are more for the former, and Chinese more for the latter.

The permissible degree of directness is determined by the culture. Americans emphasize directness and clarity in verbal interactions. Many expressions exemplify this tendency: 'Don't beat around the bush', 'Let's get down to business', and 'Get to the point' all indicate their impatience with avoiding issues. Their directness applies to the acceptance of an offer as well. It is not unusual to hear an American say 'Yes, please' on the first offer of a drink, or say 'No, thank you', and the host takes him on his word without making a second offer. While making a request or rejection, the Americans' indirectness normally stays within the on-record strategies; that is, they show indirectness in the use of grammatical structures (such as interrogatives), and the use of hedges, or impersonification. But in general the message is clear. This kind of indirectness is called 'conventional indirectness' (see 2.4). Chinese people's indirectness goes much further, and sometimes leads to ambiguity. They use more off-record strategies such as hinting or asking a third party to go between to avoid a direct confrontation. Do the Chinese love this indirect way of interaction? Most of the time they do not. They sometimes do wish they could decline a request by saying 'No' directly without worrying about hurting another's feelings. This is especially difficult if the addressee is a superior or an elder. Declining a request could be interpreted as not giving 'face' to the requester. So the Chinese language develops many strategies to avoid saying a direct 'No'. Most Chinese, being attuned to this subtle indirectness, are generally able to interpret the real meaning of statements which beat around the bush.

4.4.1 Requests in Chinese and English

We will discuss requesting behavior first. The directness of a request is varied according to the weight of an FTA. The weight of an FTA for a request is in direct proportion to the social distance between S and H, the power that H has over S, the cost of a requested act, and the rating of 'face' and 'indirectness' in the culture concerned. By 'the cost of a requested act' is meant how much trouble or inconvenience the request may give to the addressee. For example, asking for change 'costs' much less than borrowing a big sum of money. Therefore the former does not require as much indirectness as the latter. Here are some requests in American English, ordered according to the weight of the FTA:

1. Hey, I need some change.
2. Can I ask for some change?
3. Could I borrow a quarter?
4. Would you mind lending me twenty dollars?
5. I hope you don't mind my asking, but I wonder if it might be at all possible for you to lend me five hundred dollars tomorrow? I'll return it early next month.

In the above sentences, only the variable of the cost of the requested act is changing, and the other social variables are kept constant. The change of other variables may affect the degree of indirectness too. The above sentences indicate that the more weight an FTA carries, the more indirect and complex the sentence structure must become, and of course the more polite the sentence becomes.

Making the same requests in Chinese, the above utterances may go like the following: (C = Chinese)

C 1. Hey, wo syang (gen ni) hwan ling-chyan.

嘿，我想（跟你）換零錢。

'Hey, I'd like to ask for some change (from you).'

C 2. Ke-bu-ke-yi gen ni hwan sye ling-chyan?

可不可以跟你換些零錢？

'Can I ask for some change (from you)?'

C 3. Ke-bu-ke-yi jye wo shr kwai-chyan?

可不可以借我十塊錢？

'Can I borrow ten (NT) dollars?'

C 4. Bu hau yi-sz, bu-jr-dau ke-bu-ke-yi jye wo ba-bai kwai-chyan?

不好意思，不知道可不可以借我八百塊錢？

'It's embarrassing to say it. I wonder if I can borrow eight hundred dollars?'

C 5. Shr-dzai bu hau yi-sz kai-kou, yin-wei..., bu jr-dau ke-bu-ke-yi ming-tyan syan jye wo lyang wan kwai? Sya-ge ywe-chu hwan ni.

實在不好意思開口，因爲……不知道可不可以明天先借我兩萬塊，下個月初還你。

'It's really embarrassing to ask... I wonder if I can borrow twenty thousand (NT) dollars from you tomorrow? I will return it to you early next month.' (NT: New Taiwan Dollars)

Like the American English, in Chinese the complexity and indirectness of a sentence increases as the weight of the FTA increases. Both Chinese and English use the interrogative sentence as the major strategy for showing indirectness. But they differ in that in English, the tense of the modal verb is also used as one device: past tense shows more indirectness than the present tense. In Chinese no tense marker is used as a device, but the phrase *bu hau yi-sz* (不好意思) 'feel embarrassed to (say or do something)' is often used as a hedge to indicate S's awareness of the impingement and feeling of difficulty caused by making the request. This is one way to show S's respect to H, and at the same time a technique to protect S's own 'face' by stating his embarrassment at doing it. For making a heavier request, such as borrowing a big amount of money or asking a neighbor not to make too much noise in the middle of the night, some Chinese would adopt an off-record strategy, such as hinting or beating around the bush, and wait until there is some signal for him to bring up the request. Otherwise, he may wait for another chance or ask someone to go between. By such a winding roundabout approach, S not only prepares a way out for H, but also one for himself. This double 'way out' is a very important technique for preserving 'face' for Chinese.

In order to have a more substantial comparison between the strategies of request used in Chinese and English, a questionnaire was prepared and sent to a sample of Americans in the States and Chinese in Taiwan. A total of 59 questionnaire responses were analyzed: 24 Americans and 35 Chinese. The age in both groups varied from 20 to 40. Most of them were college students and high school teachers. The questionnaire asked, 'Suppose you were in the following situation: a friend of yours from out of town has been staying in your home for several weeks. The friend often comes home very late at night, disturbing you and your family. You want to make the friend aware of the fact that this is a problem, but on the other hand you are afraid to embarrass or hurt him. Would you tell him? If so, what would you say?'[18] The result of the analysis is indicated in Table 6 below:

Table 6: Main strategies for requesting

Strategies	Chinese		Americans	
	N	%	N	%
A. Don't do the FTA				
1. Not make the request	4	11.4	1	4.1
B. Do the FTA with off-record strategies				
2. To go through a third party	5	14.3	0	0
3. To hint at the issue	16	45.7	0	0
4. To make up some excuses	4	11.4	2	8.3
C. Do the FTA with on-record strategies				
5. To be indirect plus the use of more hedges and redressive actions (e.g. affirming H's being an welcome guest)	5	14.3	19	79.2
6. To be indirect, but without much redressive action	0	0	1	4.1
7. To be direct	1	2.8	1	4.1
Total	35		24	

Table 6 shows that the primary strategies used to make a difficult request in Mandarin are off-record strategies, and in English are indirect on-record strategies. In the questionnaire responses some Chinese stated that they would prefer to remain silent, and if they really could not take it any more, then they would try to hint at the issue or ask a go-between to tell him. These types of responses were classified into Strategies 3 and 2 respectively in the analysis. Here are some examples from the data to show how Chinese use hinting strategies:

1. ni mei-tyan mang dau na-me wan tsai hwei-lai, dwei shen-ti bu-hau. wo kan ni hai-shr mei-tyan dzau-dyan hwei-lai bi-jyau hau.

   你每天忙到那麼晚才回來，對身體不好，我看你還是每天早點回來比較好。

   'Look, you are so busy and come back so late every day. It's not good for your health. I think it would be better if you came back a little earlier every day.

2. wo kan ni mei-tyan je-me wan hwei-lai bu-fang-pyan. swo-yi pei gei ni yi-ba yau-shr.

   我看你每天這麼晚回來不方便，所以配給你一把鑰匙。

   'Look, you are back so late every day. It's kind of inconvenient for you. So I had a key made for you.

3. ni hau-syang you wan-shwei de syi-gwan... bu-gwo wo-men

dou syi-gwan dzau-shwei, yin-wei syau-hai dou yau dzau-chi shang-sywe, wo-men ye-yau shang-ban.

你好像有晚睡的習慣……不過我們都習慣早睡，因爲小孩都要早起上學，我們也要上班。

'It seems that you have the habit of staying up late.... but we go to bed early, because the children have to get up early for school and we have to go to work, too.'

By contrast, none of the American respondents to the questionnaires used the hinting strategy. This confirms Americans' impatience with ambiguous statements, and this is reflected in Table 6 above. Strategy 5 is the most popular device in American English. Though it is indirect in the linguistic form, there is no ambiguity of message. Here are some examples of the use of Strategy 5 in English taken from the data:

1. Listen, I'm not sure how to put this, but would you mind managing to come home a little bit earlier?
2. I hate to say this. Sometimes you come in kind of late and make a little noise.... It's sort of disturbing our sleep.... Would it be possible that you just go out on weekends?
3. I'm so glad that you've come to visit us. We really enjoy having you as a guest in our home.... But you know the family is not on holiday and has to get up early in the

> morning.... So would it be possible that you be a little bit quieter when you come in late.... I hope I haven't hurt your feelings... or anything.

Most of the American responses to the questionnaires started with an expression like 'Definitely/Absolutely, I will tell him, but....' Many Chinese, on the contrary, started the response with 'I would not say it unless I really couldn't take it anymore....', and there were four Chinese claiming that they would definitiely not say it, if the guest was an elder, a superior, or someone who was very sensitive and easily offended.

The strategies used may vary according to the content of the request, too. For example, if the matter concerns a neighbor with whom one is not well-acquainted who often turns on the radio or TV loudly until late in the night, some Chinese and Americans may try to ask a third party to tell him. However, they may differ in that Americans would be most likely to ask the policeman to do the job, but Chinese normally would ask friends or neighbors to do the job and occasionally they may ask a policeman to do it, or they may write an anonymous letter to drop into that neighbor's mailbox. The most difficult request for a Chinese to make is probably to ask his boss for a raise in salary directly, because asking for more money is a very embarrassing act (because of the implication of greed), and the chance of being rejected in such a situation is very high. Therefore, to avoid a face-to-face confrontation many Chinese would ask a third party to go between to save 'face' for both parties.

Comparatively speaking, when doing a heavy cost FTA both Americans and Chinese would employ indirect strategies, but they differ in the form and degree of indirectness.

4.4.2 Rejections in Chinese and English

To accept a request is beneficial (an FSA) to the requesting person. Therefore, there is little need to worry about how to phrase the response. A direct, clear, positive answer, like 'OK', 'Yes', 'No problem', 'Sure', or 'I'd be glad to' is all that the requester likes to hear. But to reject a request is a threatening act. It may hurt the other's feelings or embarrass him. Besides, rejecting is an FTA to the speaker himself, because that implies he is not helpful or cooperative.[19] How to reject a request appropriately and how to interpret the real message of a request requires a lot of training, and it is often regarded as an art of speech for Chinese. A person who is not well-trained in this aspect, for example a foreigner, may sound rude as a request responder, and feel frustration at 'never being able to get a straight answer' as a hearer. The Japanese are even more tactful and cautious than the Chinese in declining a request. According to Ueda (1974), there are sixteen ways for Japanese to avoid saying a direct 'No', and in many situations, a junior or a subordinate often has no choice but to accept a request.

The American way of rejecting generally follows the polite on-record strategies. Americans use hedges, apologies, excuses, or other negative politeness strategies. For example:

1. I'd really like to help you out, but....
2. I'd be glad to, but....
3. I wish I could, but....
4. I'd like to, but....
5. I'm sorry, but....
6. (No, I'm sorry.) I'm afraid not.
7. (No) I'm sorry. I can't.

Americans often give an excuse after giving a rejection in order not to hurt the listerner's feelings. These excuses or 'little white lies' may include something like 'I'm sorry, but I can't. I have already had an appointment with someone today', or 'I'm terribly sorry. I can't. I have a big exam tomorrow that I have to study for tonight.' The above mentioned types of responses are considered polite replies, and cause no discomfort or offense on the part of the listener for Americans. But many Chinese (and many Japanese too) who are attuned to indirect, subtle ways of rejection, many feel uncomfortable in the face of the Americans' frankness. Occasionally, an American may avoid a direct negative reply by an excuse like 'I'll think about it' or 'I'll go home and talk it over with my wife'.

There are a lot more strategies for making rejections in Chinese, but in general the most frequently used are similar to those used for requesting. They include the following major types:

A: Don't do the FTA.

1. Accept the request willingly or unwillingly.

B: Do the FTA with off-record strategies.

2. Give no response (silence).
3. Say 'yes', but with a reluctant tone or facial expression.
4. Make a suggestion which sounds beneficial to H.

   e.g. wo kan ni dzwei-hau dz-ji syan shr-shr-kan, you wen-ti dzai lai jau wo.

   我看你最好自己先試試看，有問題再來找我。

   'I think you'd better make a try yourself first. In case there is any difficulty, then come to see me again.'

5. Accept it with an expression of non-commitment.

   e.g. wo jin-lyang shr-shr-kan.

   我盡量試試看。

   'I'll try my best.'

6. Delay the reply

   e.g. wo gen wo syan-sheng shang-lyang kan-kan dzai gau-su ni.

我跟我先生商量看看再告訴你。

'I'll talk it over with my husband, and I'll let you know then.'

7. Beat around the bush by talking about one's own situation and difficulty or something else to make the requester understand S's difficulty in accepting it, and thus stop pressing the issue further

8. Make up some excuses or little white lies .

C. Do the FTA with on-record strategies.

9. Make an apology and downgrade one's own ability

e.g. je-ge gung-dzwo hen you-chyu, bu-gwo wo kung-pa wo-de neng-li bu-gou (wo kan ni hai-shr syan jau bye-ren shr-shr kan).

這個工作很有趣，不過我恐怕我的能力不夠（我看你還是先找別人試試看）。

'This is an interesting job, but I'm afraid I'm not qualified. (How about trying someone else first).'

10. Apologize, give the reasons, and suggest redressing it some other time .

e.g. dwei-bu-chi, je ji-tyan jen-dzai gan yi-pyan bau-gau, gai-tyan dzai gen ni tan hau-bu-hau?

對不起，這幾天正在趕一篇報告，改天再跟你談好不好？

'I'm sorry. I'm busy with a report these days. Can we talk it over some other time?'

11. Make an apology, and state the negative answer directly.

    e.g. dwei-bu-chi, wo shr-dzai mei ban-fa, (sya-tsz kan-kan hau le).

    對不起，我實在沒辦法（下次看看好了）。

    'I'm sorry, I can't (maybe next time).'

In the above strategies, the lower the number of the strategy, the more polite it is. The most frequently used strategies in Chinese are the off-record types. Even with the on-record strategies, the speaker still tries to recompense the addressee's 'face' in some way. None of the above strategies give a clear, direct 'No' answer without any apology or redress. By means of conversational implicature (see 2.1), each competent adult speaker should be able to infer the negative response by the absence of a clear, positive response. In Chinese we say that the lack of a positive answer may imply a negative answer. This is the same case with 'silence'. Unlike English, in Chinese no news means bad news most of the time. For instance, if you make a request to someone or apply for a job, and after a period of time you still receive no answer, the chances are very high that it is bad news, because it is often more difficult to give a 'No' answer than no answer at all for Chinese. Recently this concept has changed somewhat. Some people prefer to use more straightforward types of requests and responses.

The choice of a rejecting strategy is to a large extent determined by the degree of intimacy, and the relative status between S and H. If two persons are on intimate terms, a definite, direct response may not cause offense or bad feelings; on the contrary, it often reaffirms or even increases their relationship. People with greater social or status distance tend to adopt more indirect polite strategies. If the requesting person is one's superior, normally he would try not to reject it. If this person happens to be a Chinese, he may try to force himself to accept it even if it is inconvenient to him. This is mainly influenced by the Chinese situation-centered way of life. A person in Chinese society always has to take other people's feelings into account in social interactions. Comparatively speaking, Chinese have much less freedom to say 'No' to a request than Americans.

Chapter V

Cross-Cultural Pragmatic Failure

'Pragmatic failure' (PF) is used in this study to define a person's inability to appropriately express his intended meaning in a given situation, or the inability to interpret 'what is meant by what is said' due to the lack of communicative competence. A pragmatic failure may result in incomprehension, misunderstanding, communication breakdown, and, at worst, an insult. It occurs quite often in cross-cultural communication. It may sometimes happen between people of the same speech community too, because people in the same community (even within the same family) may not share the same value system or world view in every aspect. When communication is carried on in a foreign language, the chances of pragmatic failure occurrence will be much higher, because the speakers face both linguistic and cultural barriers. As we know, interpretation is a complex process, which is not a straightforward process of decoding, but also a matter of problem-solving and guesswork which help the hearer filter or read between the lines (Leech 1983, p.30 & p.35). In order to accomplish successful communication the interlocuters need more than grammatical competence; they also have to know the sociocultural rules of language usage and the conventional lingusitic strategies and formulaic expressions to express their intended meaning. Many foreign language classes, however, provide insufficient or very little practice and training in this aspect. That is why after many years of formal language instruction, many foreign language learners still have difficulty in carrying on simple daily conversation, and encounter a lot of cross-cultural pragmatic failure.

Many applied linguists, for example Thomas (1983), Tannen (1984) and Littlewood (1983), have noticed the seriousness and impact of pragmatic failure on foreign language learning and cross-cultural communication, as revealed in the following passage:

> "Grammatical errors may be irritating and impede communication, but at least, as a rule, they are apparent in the surface structure, so that H is aware that an error has occurred. Once alerted to the fact that S is not fully grammatically competent, native speakers seem to have little difficulty in making allowances for it. Pragmatic failure, on the other hand, is rarely recognized as such by non-linguists. If a non-native speaker appears to speak fluently (i.e. grammatically competent), a native speaker is likely to attribute his/her apparent impoliteness or unfriendliness not to linguistic deficiency, but to boorish or ill-will. While grammatical errors may reveal a speaker to be less than proficient language-user, pragmatic failure reflects badly on him/her as a person." (Thomas 1983, pp. 97-98)

In spite of the importance of cross-cultural pragmatic failure study, very little research has been carried out in this area and there is almost none in the area of Chinese-American cross-cultural communication failure, although there is a large body of research in error analysis in pronunciation, lexicon and grammatical structures (e.g. Huang 1974, Huang 1977, Chen 1979, Chiang 1981). The major reason behind the lack of study in this aspect is that, unlike grammatical, lexical or pronunciation errors, the line between appropriateness and inappropriateness of a speech act is not so clearcut and the judgment may vary from person to person and from situation to situation. Even native speakers disagree about the social acceptability and appropriateness of some speech acts; as discussed in earlier chapters, the proper use of a linguistic form is subject to many socio-cultural variables. Despite the lack of precise and clear-cut criteria for pragmatic failure, it is now a clear and well-established fact that studies on cross-cultural pragmatic failure are as important as other types of error analysis, and are crucial to the development of foreign language learner's communicative competence. In response to this need, I feel that it is worthwhile to venture into an analysis of pragmatic failure on Chinese learners' speaking English and American learners' speaking Mandarin in everyday interactions.[20] It is hoped that with the addition of this analysis to the cross-cultural study of conversational politeness presented in the previous chapters, the whole study will make a solid contribution to syllabus design and teaching techniques for foreign language courses by providing both a theoretical basis and specific evidence and examples of learners' difficulties in real-life social interaction.

5.1 Data collection and research methodology

It is not easy to obtain data on pragmatic failure occuring in Chinese learners' use of English and American learners' use of Mandarin in natural conversation; therefore I used three different sources of data: observations, interviews and roleplays. Observations included not only my own observations but also those made by English and Mandarin teachers in Taipei during 1985. The second source was roleplays performed according to the described situational dialogues presented in Appendix I. Although role-playing is not truly representative of natural language, it has some advantages: first, since role-playing situations elicit both conversational openings and closings, it allows us to obtain complete conversational interactions; second, it enables us to control the topic of conversation to a certain extent, and this in turn provides us with comparable samples of speech, as claimed by Scarcella and Brunak (1981). These roleplay samples indeed formed an important base for this analysis, because they supplied many conversational exchanges to fill in the gaps found in the observation data. There were thirty-six recorded roleplays performed by Chinese students of National Taiwan Normal University, and eighteen by American learners of Chinese at the Mandarin Training Center, the Chinese Language Center of Tung-Hai University, and the AIT Chinese Language and Area Students School at Yang-Ming Shan. Since it is quite time-consuming and may interfere with classroom teaching procedures, I hesitated to ask for more role-playing samples. In order to include more data, I also asked some subjects to improvise dialogues in written form during the class period. They were permitted five or six minutes per dialogue, which would allow them little time for careful consideration, editing or rewriting. They were asked not to discuss with others or use a dictionary or reference book in order to make them as close to natural, spontaneous dialogues as possible. I admit that written dialogues are even more artificial and probably contain fewer instances of inadequate expressions than spontaneous conversations or role-playing; besides, paralinguistic features are not available in the data. However, these factors have all been taken into consideration. First, since written dialogues contain fewer accidental mistakes, such as a slip of the tongue or nervousness, the inappropriate usages actually occurring should represent real pragmatic failure. Second, although paralinguistic features are very important to express the speaker's attitude and emotion, they are not within the scope of the present study, so we lose little by the use of written dialogues. Third, I needed data from high school English teachers in order to evaluate their communicative competence, and it was impossible for me to ask those teachers to perform the roleplays in class; therefore, using the method of anonymous dialogue-writing was the only way to insure their assistance and cooperation. The data from junior high school teachers were collected from a group of forty teachers participating in a teachers' in-service training program sponsored by NTNU during November, 1985, and the data from senior high English teachers were collected at a public senior high school in Taipei where I gave a lecture in December, 1985. The twenty-two teachers who attended the lecture each completed four to five dialogues within a period of thirty minutes. After I made a preliminary analysis I listed different types of PF and examples and interviewed five Mandarin teachers and four native Americans to double-check my initial judgement about the appropriateness of the dialogues. Actually, prior to my analysis, the English data had been checked and corrected by native speakers of English.[21] In addition, I also interviewed six Americans about their reactions to and interpretation of some Chinese speech acts, (such as the Chinese way of greeting and small talk), their own habit of using Chinese for communication, and their biggest difficulties in cross-cultural communication with Chinese people.

The communicative competence of the speaker may vary according to the learner's language proficiency level. It is my hope that the learners' grammatical incompetence does not interfere with pragmatic failure, so the subjects chosen for this study all have acquired an intermediate or advanced level of language proficiency. That is, they all have a pretty good command of the grammatical structure of the target language. In total, there are twenty-four college English majors and sixteen American learners joining the role-playing performance. The written dialogues were supplied by sixty-seven junior and senior high school English teachers, fifty-eight students from the English Department of NTNU, and ten American students from the Mandarin Training Center.

This study is a preliminary attempt to analyze the pragmatic failure of cross-cultural communication via the medium of a foreign language. It includes failures in both Chinese and English, and covers broad areas of PF in everyday conversation. The focus of the analysis is on the classification of pragmatic failure, the causes of these failures, and their implication in language teaching.[22]

5.2 Types of pragmatic failure

Pragmatic failure can be divided into two major types: socio-pragmatic failure and pragmalinguistic failure.(following Leech's (1983) and Thomas' (1983) terminology). The former is a failure that stems from the language user's unawareness of the different sociocultural rules and different concepts of politeness in first-language (L_1) and foreign-language (L_2) societies; the user applies inappropriate strategies in given social contexts. The latter arises because of the language user's ignorance or unfamiliarity with the linguistic strategies and conventional formulaic expressions of L_2. and thus resorts to inappropriate direct language transfer from L_1.

It is difficult to draw an absolute distinction between them. They form a continuum and there is certainly a grey area inthe middle where it is not possible to seperate the two with any degree of certainty. However, it is clear that sociopragmatic failure falls more on the side of cultural interference and pragmalinguistic more on the side of linguistic interference.

5.2.1 Sociopragmatic failure

Most of the foreign language courses only emphasize the development of students' grammatical competence with little attention to cross-culturally different perceptions of what constitutes appropriate linguistic behavior in L_1 and L_2; and worst of all, they do not even call students' attention to the existence of such differences. As a result, many foreign language learners are not aware of the differences or are not sure of what the differences are, and thus create a lot of unintentional pragmatic failure or commit innocent impolite behavior.

As discussed in the previous chapters, although politeness is a universal phenomenon and the basic principles of politeness are similar across cultures, the exact norms of politeness and value judgements vary from culture to culture, and the linguistic strategies called for in various social functions differ considerably across cultures. Unfortunately, like foreign language learners, most native speakers are not aware of such differences either, and thus often interpret and judge the appropriateness of linguistic acts according to their own standard. We will discuss and illustrate several common types of sociolinguistic failure found in the cross-cultural communication between Chinese and Americans using English or Chinese as the medium of communication.

5.2.1.1 Different concepts of privacy

We have discussed in 2.7.6 how Chinese and Americans differ as to the concept and domain of privacy. Generally speaking, Americans have a stronger sense of privacy and larger domain about it; for example, a person's age, income, marital status, the price of one's possessions and many other matters are all regarded as too personal to be asked about in casual conversation. However, most of these topics are not considered so by Chinese, and they often serve as good topics for greeting and small talk. Due to the unawareness of this difference, many Chinese learners will carry the native concept of privacy to English and ask the following types of questions in casual conversation:

(1) Where are you going?

(2) What did you do yesterday?

(3) Where did you go yesterday?

(4) Have you eaten yet?

(5) How come are you off work so early?

(6) How old are you?

(7) Do you have a boy friend?

(8) Are you married?

(9) Why don't you get married? You are so good-looking and capable.

(10) That's a nice job. How much money do you make a month?

(11) That's a beautiful outfit. How much did you pay for it?

(12) You have a big apartment. How much is the rent?

According to the Chinese way of thinking, these questions are gestures of showing S's friendliness, concern, admiration or interest in H, with little intention of probing into one's privacy, and they are often not expected to be replied to with a specific, or truthful answer. Because of the different ways of greeting and small talk, and a different concept about privacy, questions like the above are often interpreted by Americans as intruding one's privacy. This does not mean that the American way is better than Chinese or vice versa, but just that they are different, and if a foreign language learner wants to show politeness and not to be misinterpreted pragmatically, he has to be aware of this difference.

The data showed that American learners in Taiwan hardly ever asked those types of questions in Chinese except ni yau chyu nali? (你要去那裏?) 'Where are you going?' which is quite commonly used among those who have been in Taiwan for a long period of time and know it is just a way of greeting, not necessarily a true question.

Most American students' difficulty lies in being unable to distinguish genuine questions from phatic social questions.

Money matters directly involving a transaction between S and H (for example, the discussion of salary between employer and employee or exchange of money between two friends) are a sensitive question for Chinese. It is usually not asked, or at least not asked face-to-face directly. If it has to be asked, usually an indirect off-record strategy is called for. But most Americans regard such money matters otherwise, and feel quite all right to ask about it directly. Therefore, an American may sound blunt to a Chinese if he inquires directly about the salary, wages or payment involving him and the addressee.

5.2.1.2 Different degrees of directness

Every language makes use of some indirect strategies to reduce the risk of face-threatening force. The choice of degree of directness is determined by many factors, such as cost-benefit scale, social distance, relative status, etc. However, the general attitude toward directness is culturally relative. For example, as discussed in 2.7.8 Americans generally put more emphasis on directness in speech than Chinese. They believe that words should say what they mean, and that in some (if not most or even all) instances only 'content' counts (Tannen 1984:193). This happens to be in contrast with Chinese indirectness and the Chinese view that not everything should be taken at face value. The truth often has to be inferred from context, convention and some other clues. For Chinese, to be able to interpret the underlying true meaning is as important as to be able to say the right thing at the right time. This cultural conflict is the root of the following types of pragmatic failure.

When asking a big favor or making a big loan of money or any request which is considered a big cost to H, some Chinese may beat around the bush so that an American may have a hard time understanding or may completely misunderstand it. For example, the Chinese ways of making a request mentioned in 4.4.1 about a man's asking his friend to come home earlier at night may not be understood by every American, even if they are uttered in grammatical English. They are cited below:

(13) Look, you are so busy and come back so late everyday. It's not good for your health. I think it would be better if you come back a little earlier everyday.

(14) Look, you get back quite late everyday. It's kind of inconvenient for you. So I had a key made for you.

When it comes to making an invitation or an offer of a drink, which is considered a benefit to H, then Chinese would use bald on-record direct strategy (see 2.4), and sometimes even force or press H to accept it. Hwa-chywan (划拳) 'finger guessing game', for example, is one tact for forcing the guest to drink more. A Chinese host seldom asks a guest's permission by 'Would you like to have some X?' before he pours a drink into the guest's glass at the dinner table. If he asks, he only asks the guest to make a choice between the different kinds of drinks he offers. This same tact is used for offering tea, coffee or another beverage when a guest arrives at one's home. The host usually goes ahead and brings in a tray and says 'Have some tea (or coffee) please', or occasionally he may ask, 'Which one do you prefer, tea or coffee?' with the assumption that the guest has to make at least one choice. When making an invitation, if the guest gives a negative reply, the host is supposed not to take it at face value at the first offer. He should offer again and again, and sometimes impose on the other to take it by various means, such as 'Please do come, we will wait for you', 'I will ask someone to pick you up', or 'If you don't come, there will be no fun for the whole party', and the like. This is a way of showing the host's hospitality and sincerity. Yet the Chinese way of strong imposition often gives Americans a sense that they are 'too pushy'. I remember once an American complained to me about one of his Chinese friends' forcing him to gan-bei (乾杯) 'drink up, bottoms up' several times, and he had a hang-over the next day, because he thought it might be impolite to refuse more than once.

Being a guest, a Chinese is supposed not to accept an invitation or an offer right away to show his modesty.[23] A host, if he is a Chinese, understands the 'No, thank you' is not a genuine refusal, but rather a ritual polite reply. That is why a host has to repeat the offer more than once. But Americans in general are more direct or honest in the response to an invitation or offer, and the host is supposed to take a 'No' answer as a true answer and respects the guest's choice without forcing him to accept the invitation or offer. Some Americans may offer food or drink twice, but never more than that, and if they do that, it is considered impolite among Americans. This is an area where cross-cultural communication breakdown often occurs. An American may interpret a Chinese friend's rejection of an offer or invitation as a true reply without making another try. This may offend the Chinese, and be blamed for not being sincere or hospitable enough, or even for being ill-mannered. Likewise, Americans may feel frustrated when Chinese are playing this 'hard-to-guess' game, and thus blame Chinese for being insincere. Except for an official dinner party, the RSVP is not a common practice for a written invitation from a friend in Chinese society, for it may have the implication that the inviter is not so sincere because the guest can choose to say 'no'. To show his sincerity, the inviter normally would present the invitation in person, or phone the guest after sending the invitation to confirm that the guest can come. Sending an invitation, especially to an elder or a superior, by mail without an additional phone call is sometimes regarded as impolite.

What makes it doubly difficult for an American to understand the 'true Yes or No' in Chinese is topped by the fact that Chinese sometimes refrain from giving a clear and direct 'No'. To accept an invitation on the first offer implies that the person is not humble enough, but to refuse an offer bluntly is sometimes too harsh or cool to the inviter. Under such circumstances (i.e. being forced to accept an invitation by the inviter's sincerity), the invited person may sometimes give a vague 'Yes', like hau-de wo kan-kan, wo hwei jin-lyang chyu jyou-shr (好的，我看看，我會儘量去就是) 'I'll try to be there, if I can', and the chances of his coming are fifty percent or less. How to decline someone's request in Chinese society is even more difficult. One has to take many variables into consideration, for example, the relative status, the interpersonal relationship and the nature of the request. To a superior, sometimes there is no proper way at all to decline a request. That is why we often hear someone complain that 'I really don't know how to say NO'. But under normal circumstances, one can decline a request, but has to do it tactfully and subtly so as not to hurt H's feeling or give him a sense of loss of face. The commonly used strategy is to give a vague non-committal phrase, such as shr-shr kan (試試看) 'I'll try', jin-lyang (儘量) 'I'll try my best', dzai kan-kan ma (再看看嘛) 'Let's wait and see', or a reluctant 'Yes', like hau-la (好啦) or hau-ma (好嘛), and may be plus a lengthy explanation of his own problem, such as (16) below. Chinese normally have little difficulty grasping the hidden message from the linguistic signals, or more specifically from the absence of a clearcut, straightforward 'Yes'. Many Americans, however, may not be able to get the right message easily and after receiving no responsive action from the Chinese afterwards he may feel the Chinese is irresponsible or dishonest. On the contrary, an honest direct negative answer, though polite in form, like (17) below, from a frank American sometimes falls too harshly on most Chinese ears which are attuned to detecting the subtleties of a vague indirect statement or reply.

(15) bai syan-sheng, ting-shwo ni-men gung-sz yau gu-yung syin-ren, neng-bu-neng ma-fan nin bang wo syang ni-men lau-ban twei-jyan yi-sya? 白先生，聽說你們公司要僱用新人，能不能麻煩您幫我向你們老闆推薦一下？

'Mr. Bai, I was told that your company is going to hire a new staff member. Can I trouble you to recommend (me) to your boss?'

(16) hau-de, wo shr-shr-kan, bu-gwo wo bu tai you ba-wo, yin-wei wo dau wo-men gung-sz tsai ban-nyan, gen lau-ban bu tai shou, er-chye dzwei-jin lai ying-jeng de ren hen dwo... bu-gwo wo jin-lyang shr-shr-kan. 好的，我試試看，不過我不太有把握，因爲我到我們公司才半年，跟老闆不熟，而且最近來應徵的人很多……不過我儘量試試看。

'OK, I'll try, but I'm not quite sure, because I have been at our company for only half a year. I don't know my boss very well, and besides, there have been a lot of people coming in to apply recently... But anyway, I'll try.'

(17) fei-chang dwei-bu-chi, wo (kung-pa) mei ban-fa bang-mang, yin-wei wo gen lau-ban bu shou. 非常對不起，我（恐怕）沒辦法幫忙，因爲我跟老闆不熟。

'I'm very sorry, but (I'm afraid) I can't help you, because I don't know my boss very well.'

5.2.1.3 Different concepts and attitudes toward formality, deference, and intimacy

Due to the different concepts and attitudes toward formality, deference, and intimacy (see 2.7.4, 2.7.5, & 2.7.7), Chinese and Americans present fairly different patterns of address (see 4.1). Many foreign language learners of Mandarin and English, however, are not aware of these differences and tend to carry their habitual ways of address to the target language, and convey the wrong message to native speakers. Some language learners may realize that there is a distinction between the formal and informal forms of address in the target language, but they are not clear about the social meaning associated with each form and the rules of its usage. Furthermore, they may not be familiar with the social structure of hierarchy and the rank of different 'face wants' in the target culture, and thus may apply their native sociocultural rules for the choice of address forms.

From the data we can see that most Chinese learners of English make a distinction between TSN (title+surname) and GN (given name) and use them alternatively according to an implicit rule that close friends are addressed by GN, adult neighbors and superiors are usually by TSN, and a direct superior is often by title alone, such as 'Sir', 'Professor', 'Teacher' or 'Miss'. This rule is, however, a direct transfer from Chinese. The common address form for a teacher in the United States is 'Professor/Mr./Mrs./Miss + last name'. Americans hardly ever address a teacher by 'Teacher', except for some kindergarten children. 'Boss' is a form of reference, not direct address for Americans except occasionally as a joke. The use of the title alone in Chinese society means great deference and sometimes intimacy as well (see 4.1.1), but this form of address has a different social meaning in American society. It is usually regarded as obsequious (Hook, 1984:188) and thus is not commonly used. Some Chinese students address their teachers, whether male or female, as 'Sir', for they think it is a polite address form for teachers. This is probably influenced by the Chinese translation of the title of the movie 'To Sir with Love', wu ai wu shr (吾愛吾師). Nowadays, first-naming in American society become a mark of intimacy and equality, which is valued more highly than deference and modesty. TSN, on the contrary, implies power and social distance, and therefore is not common among colleagues or neighbors except for those who have a big difference in status or age. Chinese people's consistent use of TSN when addressing their American colleagues, neighbors or friends often puts them in an uncomfortable and uneasy position, and makes them afraid to move toward a close relationship. Some American visiting professors in Taiwan, who are not used to Chinese patterns of addressing, often ask their colleagues to address them by their first name, but sometimes they still receive TSN in return, especially from those who are younger or lower in position, and they always wonder why. Once an American professor asked his students to call him by his first name 'Jack' in order to put them at ease in conversation class, and the students just felt that they could not do it, and finally they adopted a compromise term by addressing the professor as 'Mr. Jack', and it took them three months to drop the title 'Mr." and address him by his first name alone.[24] This is easy to understand, because a Chinese never addresses his teacher by first name.

Some Chinese, following the Chinese pattern of address, ask their children to address their American friends or colleagues by 'Uncle/Auntie + Surname'[25], which often sounds peculiar to Americans, because they are more used to 'Mr. /Mrs. /Miss+Surname' or 'Uncle/Aunt+

Given Name'. Besides, many Americans reserve kinship terms for real relatives only. To show intimacy, an American may ask the younger friend or his friends' children to address him or her by GN, but not kinship terms.

Another serious pragmatic failure that I have witnessed is that some junior high school English teachers address their students by TSN in class. The other extreme case is that some Chinese misunderstand and overgeneralize the first-naming pattern for every one including those who are not supposed to be addressed that way. There were two real examples. One happened in a Chinese Cultural Seminar for American Faculty several years ago. Two Chinese studentaids, after being requested by some young American professors to address them by GN, thought that all the professors would like to be addressed that way, and thus addressed every professor, young and old, by GN, and that offended some of the older professors. The other instance happened to a Chinese chauffeur working at an American institution. He addressed every staff member politely by TSN, but was asked to change to GN. Finally he thought that every American liked to be addressed by GN. Once an older American high ranking officer came to visit this institution, this chauffeur wanted to show his friendliness and addressed him as 'Bob' on the first meeting. It really angered this officer, and he charged this chauffeur with impoliteness and wanted to have him fired. Finally he was forgiven for his ignorance of the rules of address. This failure was caused by the ignorance of the rule that an American may address an elder or a superior by first name but only if the elder or the superior has made the suggestion; otherwise, it is better to remain on the TSN term, because some people prefer it that way.

American students in Taiwan seem to have fewer problems with Chinese forms of address. The main reason is that they are living in the Chinese language environment, and have more chances to contact different forms of address. The other reason is that they either use the formal forms of address as given in the textbook or use English forms of address, and both forms are acceptable to Chinese. It is very common that Americans mix an English form of address, especially the first name, in a Chinese conversation. According to some Americans that I interviewed, there are several reasons for their addressing Chinese by the English first name. First, they feel TSN is too formal; second, they are not used to the Chinese full-name address form, which sounds impolite to them, and the given name they learned from the textbook seems not very popular among Chinese, especially in Taipei; third, Chinese names with three characters, which often do not represent any special meaning to them, are difficult to remember; and fourth, many Chinese friends of theirs ask them to address them by an English first name, and they think Chinese in general like to be addressed that way. American learners in Taiwan probably may not commit serious mistakes in forms of address that may offend native Chinese but it seems that they are not really at home with various Chinese forms of address, and they may have some problems if they go to rural areas where the Chinese do not know English at all. I also know some Americans who really manipulate Chinese forms of address very well. They are those who have been in Taiwan for a long period of time and have been living with Chinese families on the outskirts of Taipei, where fewer people can speak English, and have learned all these forms in a practical environment.

Many American students, however, have some difficulty with the use of the polite and familiar second person pronouns: nin (您) and ni (你). This is partly influenced by the absence of such distinction in modern English, and partly because they are not sure when to use which one due to the complex Chinese system of personal relationships. On top of that, there is a tendency among Chinese to avoid using ni (你) directly to someone's face, especially a superior. It is either omitted, or substituted by the title of the addressee alone (e.g. jing-li (經理) 'manager', shyau-jang (校長) 'principal', lau-shr (老師) 'teacher') or a combination of the title and nin. (e.g. syau-jang nin (校長您) 'Principle you'). Americans sometimes overuse 你, and thus may sound harsh and impolite to the addressee. I was informed by some teachers of Mandarin that they were often appalled by a direct 你 in utterances like the following:

(18) ni dzai shwo yi-byan hau-bu-hau?

你再說一遍好不好？

'Lit. You repeat that again, O.K.?'

(19) jung-wen ni dzen-me shwo je-ge?

中文你怎麼說這個？

'Lit. In Chinese, how do you say this?'

(20) wo wen ni, je-ge dz she-me yi-sz ne?

我問你，這個字什麼意思呢？

'Lit. I ask you. What does this word mean?'

The sense of harshness and imposition can be reduced or eliminated if they are rephrased as (21)-(23), respectively: (Those in the parentheses are optional.)

(21) ma-fan ching (nin) dzai shwo yi-byan (hau ma?)

麻煩請（您）再說一遍（好嗎？）

'Would you mind repeating that again?
(lit. Bother (you) to repeat that again, O.K.?)'

(22) lau-shr, ching-wen je-ge jung-wen dzen-me shwo?

老師，請問這個中文怎麼說？

'Can you tell me how is this said in Chinese, sir/ma'am?'
(lit. Teacher, may I ask (you) how is this said in Chinese?)'

(23) lau-she, ching-wen je-ge dz she-me yi-sz?

老師，請問這個字什麼意思？

'Can you tell me what does this word mean?

(lit. Teacher, may I ask (you) what does this word mean?)'

5.2.2 Pragmalinguistic failure

As discussed in the preceding section, sociopragmatic failure is initiated by cross-culturally different perceptions of what constitute appropriate lingusitic behavior. It is more cultural interference. Whereas a pragmalinguistic failure is more linguistic interference. That is, the foreign language learner is in general observing the sociocultural rules and the politeness rules of the target language, and he knows when he should show deference, intimacy, or modesty, and he may vaguely know how native speakers greet, bid good-bye, accept an invitaion, etc., except that he does not know the exact linguistic expression to express his meaning or intention. He then has to resort to a direct transfer from his mother tongue, or form an expression of his own, based on the grammatical rules he learned from the target language. These transferred expressions or his own created expressions may not be the same as the conventional expressions that native speakers expect in the given situation, and thus create a failure to communication.

Many linguistic expressions that occur in daily conversation, such as those in greetings, compliments, partings, and making invitations, are quite formulaic in nature. Because of their formulaic nature and high recurrence in conversation, they are called 'formulaic expressions'.[26] Native speakers are so attuned to them that they not only use them, but also expect them from their interlocutors in conversation. Any deviation from them may invite a peculiar reaction from native speakers. Some formulaic expressions are highly ritualized and fixed in form so they have a lack of originality and have departed from the original literal sense (e.g. *na-li na-li* (那裏那裏) 'Where? Where?' as a compliment response, and *man-dzou* (慢走) 'walk slowly' as a parting expression in Chinese). Some expressions are not so fixed in form (e.g. different forms of request), and the speaker is allowed to have some degree of freedom to construct an expression of his own, provided it conforms to the politeness rules of the language. However, generally speaking, most of the conversational formulaic expressions are highly culture-specific and language-specific. This is one area where linguistic creativity may not work, and direct transfer from the mother tongue often fails. For the purpose of successful cross-cultural communication, foreigner language learners simply have to learn them and become familiar with them.

Formulaic expressions are very important for communication, because its conventionalized nature and commonly assumed social implicature provide a channel for the speaker to convey his meaning and good-will in the most efficient and effective manner. A proper use of formulaic expressions can create and maintain a happy and smooth course of interaction. On the contrary, a misuse or a failure to use these expressions may hinder communication, or even appear impolite. In order to ensure that one can communicate appropriately, besides acquiring the sociocultural knowledge and the politeness norm of the target culture, the speaker also has to have a large stock of formulaic expressions at his disposal to meet different daily activities. The data revealed that most foreign language learners, though grammatically competent, still have great difficulty in using appropriate formulaic expressions for different communicative functions. This type of failure falls into three categories: first, the inability to make a distinction between formal and informal expressions or the application of one form to every social situation; second, the substitution of the accepted conventional expression by a direct transfer from the mother tongue, or by a created expression of his own; third, the shortage of gambits (i.e. transitional expressions) to smooth or lubricate the conversation.

As mentioned earlier there are many problems associated with the analysis of pragmatic failure. The judgment of the appropriateness of pragmatic use of language is not absolute; it may vary from person to person and it is also influenced by the interrelationship of the interlocutors, the tone of voice and other paralinguistic features. This problem is particularly acute in judging the appropriateness of formulaic expressions. For example, during the process of my analysis, every time I checked with a native speaker I received a slightly different response. Some would tell me, 'That's impolite', but the other said, 'It's all right with me', and another said, 'It depends on the tone of voice or on how close their relationship is.' But after I described the context, the personal relationship and other social background, and showed him the whole dialogue sample, and asked the native speaker under that given situation what he would normally say or how he would respond, or would he put it the way it was shown in the data. He normally would say although that sounded O.K. under certain circumstances, personally he preferred the other way. This indicates that many native speakers, especially those who are learning a foreign language themselves, are quite tolerant of foreign language learner's mistakes, although they may not be so tolerant with their fellow countrymen. Therefore, the judgements that I used for analysis are what native speakers regarded as the most appropriate responses given the described situation, not what they think they could accept or understand under very special conditions. This is a little bit prescriptive in nature, but what is appropriate or not is basically socially prescriptive. Besides consulting native speakers, I also compared the data with the normal natural formulaic expressions I observed in live conversations, TV shows, films and samples provided by native speakers and some functional approach textbooks (such as Tillitt and Bruder's Speaking Naturally, and Coffey's Fitting In). Nonverbal features like facial expression and prosodic features are assumed to be neutral with a minimum interference with the judgment of the appropriateness of linguistic expressions. I have already mentioned and discussed some linguistic expressions used in greetings, compliment responses, and requests in Chapter Four. For the convenience of the reader's reference and discussion in the following sections, I also added some other commonly used English and Chinese formulaic expressions and gambits in Appendix II and Appendix III.

5.2.2.1 Formal vs. informal styles

Formality in style is a communication tool itself. It conveys the speaker's attitude toward the addressee and the social occasion, and indicates the degree of intimacy and relative status between H and S. The formal and informal styles are generally differentiated by the content, sentence structure, lexical choice, omission, elision, reduction, pronunciation and speech rate (see 3.1.4). Foreign language learners often apply the formal style or written style of language they learn from the language textbook to every social occasion they encounter in face-to-face communication, and thus sometimes give H a wrong impression of too much formality or social distance between them.

It is revealed in the data that many foreign learners are single-style speakers. They can not tell the difference between formal and informal speech, and therefore can not manipulate the style-shift skillfully in a verbal exchange. For example, almost seventy percent of the Chinese subjects use formal greetings and partings, such as (24) below, irrespective of different social contexts and personal relationships in natural conversation or roleplays.

(24) A: Good morning, TSN/GN.
B: Good morning, TSN/GN.
How are you (today)?
A: Fine, thank you, and you?
B: I'm fine, thank you.
⋮
A: Good-bye.
B: Good-bye.

In a casual situation or among close friends the greeting and parting phrases in English are normally not the well articulated complete phrases of 'Good morning' and 'Good-bye', but the reduced form 'Morning' and 'Bye' or with the word 'Good' so softly articulated that it is almost inaudible.[27] In an introduction, almost eighty percent would respond with 'How do you do?' to anyone, including children. This is probably due to the fact that these are the only forms appearing in the English textbook in Taiwan.

In making a verbal invitation to one's superior, some Chinese may use a form that is so formal that it is almost like a written invitation:

(25) Mr. Jones, could I have the honor to invite you and your wife to attend a dinner party at my home?

(26) Mr. Brown, could you be my guest at a dinner party this coming Saturday night?

Those persons who issue an invitation like those above know that they should use a formal form, but they probably do not know what formal form is like, so they often make a direct translation from Chinese, or put whatever phrases they have learned about invitation, including a written invitation, into one utterance.

Since the American subjects for the present study are those with intermediate or advanced level of Chinese language proficiency and have been in Taiwan for at least six months, they generally have a better knowledge about the formal and informal style distinction. However, those who do not live with native speakers of Chinese or have little contact with native speakers sometimes may use the book-style, formal or old-fashioned Mandarin in casual conversation such as the following:

(27) ni hau ma?
你好嗎？
'How are you?'

(28) ni jin-er you gung-fu ma?
你今兒有工夫嗎？

'Do you have time today?'

(29) sye-sye bye fei-shr wo ma-fan ni tai-dwo le.

謝謝，別費事，我麻煩你太多了。

'Thank you. Don't bother, I've already given you too much trouble.'

Some Americans, on the other hand, have heard quite a few colloquial forms and slang from their Chinese peers. They know they are informal style, but probably do not know that some are only allowed among peers, not elders or superiors, even in casual conversation. For example, once I heard an American student said gan-ma na-me ke-chi? (幹嘛那麼客氣?) 'Why are you so polite?' to his Chinese teacher at a dinner table. The teacher was shocked by this remark, even though at that moment they were having a casual conversation.

5.2.2.2 The accuracy of formulaic expressions

In this section we will cite some conversational expressions which were found to appear quite often in the data. They generally conform to the grammatical rules of the target language, yet they are not the appropriate expressions native speakers would use in the given situation with the intended meaning. These expressions are considered inappropriate here. The judgment I made here, as discussed earlier, is a little bit strong and prescriptive in the sense that the appropriateness is judged according to the appropriate, natural responses that native speakers would use, as presented in Appendixes II and III, not according to the way that native speakers try to understand foreigners' expressions or try to read some meaning or good will into them. For the purpose of cross-cultural communication perhaps it is advisable to suggest that an addressee should be tolerant and try to understand a foreign speaker with all possible clues, but it is even more important to instruct a foreign language learner to use the language in the way native speaker would in order to reduce the possibility of being misunderstood. The position I take here is from the speaker's point of view. That is, a speaker has to use the right expression in the right situation according to the norms of native speakers.

The examples cited below are taken out of real life conversations or the situational dialogues designed for this study. Because it would take too much space to include the whole dialogue for each expression, I only list the inappropriate expressions in the left column, and give the corresponding appropriate expressions with the speaker's intended meaning in the right column.

Chinese Learners' Misuse of English Formulaic Expressions

Inappropriate expressions	Corresponding appropriate expressions with intended meaning
I. General greetings among friends or colleagues	
1a. Good morning. How do you do?	1b. Good morning. How are you?
2a. How are you going?	2b. How is it going?
3a. How's it going?	3b. How're you doing?
4a. How do you feel today?	4b. How are you today? 4c. (?)How are you feeling today?
5a. I haven't seen you for a long time. What have you been busy with?	5b. Haven't seen you for a long time. How have you been? 5c. Haven't seen you for a long time. What have you been up to?
6a. Fine, thank you. How about your family?	6b. Fine, thank you. How's the family?
II. Geetings after a long weekend	
7a. Did you go out during the weekend?	7b. How was the weekend? 7c. (?)Did you do anything last weekend?
8a. What did you do in the past few days?	8b. How was the weekend? 8c. (?)What did you do last weekend?
9a. Did you have a good time over the weekend?	9b. Have a nice weekend?

III. Inviting someone to a dinner party

10a. Mr. Jones, could I have the honor to invite you to attend a dinner party at my home this Saturday? (to a superior)

10b. Mr. Jones, my wife and I would like to invite you to dinner this Saturday. (Is that convenient for you?)

11a. Miss Light, would you accept my invitation to a dinner party at my home this coming Saturday? (to a colleague)

11b. Janet, would you like to come to my house for dinner this coming Saturday?

12a. Mary, I'll have a party on Saturday night. Can you come? (to a friend)

12b. Mary, how about coming to dinner Saturday?

12c. Mary, I'm having a few friends over for dinner Saturday night. Would you like to come?

IV. Accepting a dinner invitation

13a. OK. That's my honor. I'll go. (formal)

13b. Thank you. I'd love to.

13c. Thank you, I'd be happy to attend.

14a. Let me see. I think I can accept your invitation. (formal)

14b. Let me check my calender. I think I'm free.

15a. Well, I'm eager to go. I'll be there on time. (informal)

15b. Sounds great. See you Saturday.

15c. Sure, I would. See you Saturday.

15d. O.K. See you Saturday.

V. Rejecting an invitation

16a. I'm sorry. I can't go, because I already had a date with someone. (formal)	16b. I'm sorry. I can't come, because I already have an appointment. 16c. I'm sorry, but I have other plans.
17a. I'm sorry. I like to go, but I can't, because... I'll go next time. (informal)	17b. I'm sorry. (I'd love to, but) I can't make it, because....Maybe next time. 17c. I'm sorry. (I'd love to, but) I can't make it, because....We'll get together soon, okay?

VI. Accepting an apology for being unable to come to the dinner party

18a. Oh, it's a pity.	18b. What a shame! 18c. That's a shame!
19a. (?)All right, forget it.	19b. That's all right. I hope you can come next time. 19c. That's all right. Maybe next time.
20a. (?)Oh, never mind.	20b. It's OK. Maybe next time.
21a. (?)OK, it doesn't matter.	21b. That's OK. It doesn't really matter. Maybe we can get together some other time.

VII. Accepting or rejecting an offer of drink

Host: Would you like to have some coffee?

22a. Guest: Yes, please give me a cup of coffee.	22b. Yes, thank you. 22c. Yes, please.

23a. (?)Guest: No, thank you. Don't bother.

23b. No, thank you.

23c. (?)Don't bother, I'll only be here a minute.

Host: Would you like to have coffee or tea?

24a. Guest: I like coffee.

24b. Coffee please.

VIII. Having to leave a party now, because it is late

25a. Thank you for your inviting me. The food was delicious. It's late, so I have to go home now. I'm sorry to have bothered you the whole evening.

25b. Thank you for inviting me. The food was delicious. It's getting late. I've got to get up early for work tomorrow.

26a. It's a wonderful dinner party. I enjoyed myself very much. But I'm sorry that I have to leave first, because....I hope you don't mind my leaving now.

26b. Thank you for a wonderful evening. I really had a good time. It's getting late. I'm afraid I have to be going.

IX. Requesting to enter someone's office to ask something

27a. Excuse me, sir. May I ask you a question?

27b. Excuse me, TSN, can I talk to you for a moment?

28a. I'm sorry, Professor Hudson, can I bother you for a moment?

28b. Excuse me, Professor Hudson. Can I have a few minutes with you?

28c. Excuse me, Professor Hudson. Do you have a minute?

28d. Excuse me, Professor Hudson. Are you free now ?

X. Responding to the preceding request

29a. Yes, you may.
29b. Sure. (Come in).
30a. Yes, what's on?
30b. Yes, what's up?
31a. (?)Yes, what's the matter?
31b. Yes, what can I do for you?
32a. (?)Yes, what's wrong?
32b. Yes?
33a. Yes, what do you want?
33b. Yeah? What can I do for you?
34a. Is there anything wrong with you?
34b. Can I help you?
35a. (?) What's the problem?
35b. Yes?

XI. Responding to a phone call requesting to speak to Jane

36a. She is not here now. May I ask who are you?
36b. She is not here at the moment. May I ask who is calling (please)?
37a. I am Jane.
37b. This is Jane.
38a. I'm speaking.
38b. Speaking.
39a. It's Jane speaking.
39b. Jane speaking.

XII. Compliments

40a. That's a beautiful set of sofa, and the lamp is beautiful, too.
40b. You have a beautiful living room.
41a. You have a big living room, and you decorate it so beautifully.
41b. Your house is beautifully decorated.

	41c. You have a beautiful home.

XIII. Responding to the preceding compliment

42a. Thank you for you praise (or complement).	42b. Thank you.
43a. Thank you. I'm glad you like it.	43b. Thank you. (It's nice to hear that.)

XIV. Meeting a colleague or an old friend unexpectedly on the street or at a restaurant

44a. Hi, Mr. Leech, glad to meet you here.	44b. Hi, Mr. Leech, what a surprise to run into you here.
45a. Hi, Tom, why are you here too?	45b. Hi, Tom, what a surprise!
	45c. Hey, is that you? Tom?

XV. Responding to a gratitude for a favor, such as 'Thank you for...'

46a. (?)Oh, never mind.	46b. You're welcome.
47a. (?)Oh, forget it.	47b. It was nothing.
	47c. It was no trouble.
	47d. No problem.

These expressions marked by (?) above are acceptable and appropriate expressions, but they do not really convey the meaning that the speaker intends to, based on the original contexts in which they appeared. For example, expressions (19a) - (21a) 'forget it', 'never mind', and 'it doesn't matter' are very informal expressions in English. They are normally used only among close friends and family members who may not misunderstand the message, or they have to be uttered in a friendly tone of voice and with other nonverbal expressions. If not under those assumed relationships and specially marked paralinguistic features, these expressions may turn out to be impolite with the implication that the speaker is not happy that his dinner invitation is rejected. When Chinese learners use those English expressions, they mean to show that everything is all right and they have no hard feelings toward the other person but want to let the person making the apology 'off the hook'. The reason for the frequent occurrence of those expressions is probably due to a direct transfer from the Chinese mei kwan-syi (沒關係), which is a polite expression in Mandarin. The same situation goes with (46a) and (47a). Other instances of direct transference from Chinese are found in (31a) - (34a). A common response to an attention-getting or to someone's request to enter an office in Chinese is you she-me shr ma (有什麼事嗎？) 'Is there anything... ?' or its reduced form you she-me shr (有什麼事？) or she-me shr (什麼事？); or yau dzwo she-me (要做什麼？) 'What do you want to do?' and its reduced form dzwo she-me (做什麼？), or gan-ma (幹嘛？) 'What do you want?'[28] Many Chinese learners unconsciously transfer those Chinese expressions into English, and thus result in the inadequate expressions like 'What's the matter?', 'What's wrong?', 'What do you want?', 'Is there anything wrong with you?' in (31a) - (34a). The common normal expressions under situation (X) are usually (29b) - (35b). However, if someone walks up to you with an unusual verbal or nonverbal expression such as showing shock or anger, then it is quite natural and appropriate to respond by 'What's the matter?' or 'What's wrong?' Some American teachers may respond to a student's request to talk to him/her by expressions, like (35a) 'What's the problem?' and it is appropriate only under the assumption that the student has some problems. Expressions (31a) and (32a) are inappropriate and impolite in a normal situation, unless they are accompanied by special intonation, nonverbal expression or with assumed intimate relationship between the speaker and the addressee.

Expressions in (7c) and (8c) are marked with (?). That means, they are the closest equivalents to the corresponding (a) expressions. Yet they are not as commonly used as their alternative (b) form 'How was the weekend?', because in greetings Americans tend to ask things in more general terms, and Chinese tend to ask in more detail. And this difference also happens in compliments, as revealed in (40a) and (41a). 'How do you feel today?' in (4a) is inappropriate, and 'How are you feeling today?' in (4b) is acceptable, but only under the assumption that the speaker knows that his interlocutor was not feeling well yesterday or recently; otherwise, 'How are you today?' is a more common expression.

I. General greetings among friends, colleagues or neighbors

Inappropriate expressions	Appropriate expressions with intended meaning
48a. (?) wang syan-sheng, ni hau ma? 王先生，你好嗎？ 'Mr. Wang, how are you?'	48b. wang syan-sheng, ni hau. 王先生，你好。 'Mr. Wang, good day.'
49a. chen ju-ren, dzau-an. 陳主任，早安。 'Director Chen, good morning.'	49b. chen ju-ren, dzau. 陳主任，早。 'Director Chen, good morning.'
50a. lin tai-tai, hau-jyou bu-jyan, ni dze-me la? (or ni hau-bu-hau?) 林太太，好久不見，你怎麼啦？（或你好不好？） 'Mrs. Lin, haven't seen you for a long time. What's wrong with you? (or How are you?)'	50b. lin tai-tai, hau-jyou bu-jyan, jin-lai dzen-yang? (or jyin-lai hau ma?) 林太太，好久不見，近來怎樣？（或近來好嗎？） 'Mrs. Lin, haven't seen you for a long time. How've you been (recently)?'
51a. wo hen hau, sye-sye, ni jya-li de ren hau-bu-hau? 我很好，謝謝，你家裏的人好不好？ 'I'm fine, thanks. How's your family?'	51b. hai-hau, jya-ren dou hau ba? 還好，家人都好吧？ 'Not bad. How's the family?'

II. Greetings after a long weekend

52a. ni-de jou-mwo hau-bu-hau?
你的週末好不好？
'How was your weekend?'

52b. je ji tyan you-mei-you chyu na-li wan a?
這幾天有沒有去那裏玩啊？
'Did you go anywhere during the past few days?

53a. ni-de jou-mwo gwo de dze-me-yang?
你的週末過得怎麼樣？
'How was your weekend?'

53b. jou-mwo you-mei-you chyu na-li a?
週末有沒有去那裏玩啊？
'Did you go anywhere over the weekend?'

54a. hau, wo-de jou-mwo gwo de hen you-yi-sz.
好，我的週末過得很有意思。
'Fine, I had a great time.'

54b. gen jya-ren chyu pa-shan.
跟家人去爬山。
'I went mountain climbing with my family.'

54c. she-me di-fang ye mei chyu, jyou-shr dazi jya-li.
什麼地方也沒去，就是在家裏。
'I didn't go anywhere. Just stayed at home.'

III. Inviting someone over for a dinner party at home

55a. jang jing-li, wo yau ching nin sying-chi-lyou chyu wo-jya chr byan-fan, nin you gung-fu ma?

55b. jang jing-li, je-ge li-bai-lyou wo ching le ji-wei peng-you lai jya-li chr-fan, syang ching nin shang-gwang, bu-

張經理，我要請您星期六去我家吃便飯，您有工夫嗎？ 'Manager Chang, I want to invite you to my home for dinner this Saturday night. Do you have time?' (formal)	jr-dau nin fang-bu-fang-byan? 張經理，這個禮拜六我請了幾位朋友來家裏吃飯，想請您賞光，不知道您方不方便？ 'Manager Chang, I've invited several friends over(to my home)for dinner this Saturday. Hope you can come. I don't know if it is convenient for you.'
56a. wang syan-sheng, je-ge sying-chi-lyou wan-shang wo ching peng-you lai wo-jya wan-yan, wo yau ching ni chyu, hau-bu-hau? 王先生，這個星期六晚上我請朋友來我家晚宴，我要請你去，好不好？ 'Mr. Wang, I'm having several friends over (to my home) for dinner this Saturday night. I like to invite you (to go). (Is that) OK (with you)?'	56b. wang-syung, je li-bai-lyou wan-shang ching ji-wei hau-you lai jya-li jyu-yi-jyu, chr ge byan-fan, syi-wang ni neng lai. 王兄，這禮拜六晚上請幾位好友來家裏聚一聚，吃個便飯，希望你能來。 'Wang-brother, I'm having several friends over (to my home) for a simple dinner. Hope you can come.'
57a. lau-li, ming-tyan wo-jya ching-ke, ni syi-hwan lai ma?	57b. lau-li, ming-tyan lai wo-jya chr ge fan, dze-me-yang?

老李，明天我家請客，你喜歡來嗎？

'Old-Li, I'm having a dinner party at home. Would you like to come?'

老李，明天來我家吃個飯，怎麼樣？

'Old-Li, how about dinner at my home tomorrow night?'

IV. Accepting a dinner invitation

58a. sye-sye ni, wo ke-yi chyu. (formal)

謝謝你，我可以去。

'Thank you, I can go (to your party).'

58b. (dze-me ne-me ke-chi ne ...) hau a! na syan sye-sye nin le.

（怎麼那麼客氣呢！…）好啊！那先謝謝您了。

'(Why so polite?...) Good, then thank you in advance.'

59a. hau ba! ji-dyan-jung wo lai bi-jyau hau? (informal)

好吧！幾點鐘我來比較好？

'OK (reluctant particle). What time should I come?'

59b. hau a! ji-dyan-jung?

好啊！幾點鐘？

'Great! What time (is it)?'

V. Rejecting a dinner invitation

60a. dwei-bu-chi, wo bu-neng lai, yin-wei wo yi-jing ywe le yi-ge shr.

對不起，我不能來，因爲我已經約了一個事。

'I'm sorry, I can't come because I already have an appointment.'

60b. kung-pa bu-neng lai o, nei-tyan jeng-hau you shr.

恐怕不能來喔，那天正好有事。

'I'm afraid I can't come. I happen to have something to do that day.'

61a. dwei-bu-chi, wo hen syi-hwan chyu, ke-shr wo bu ke-yi chyu, yin-wei wo you yi-ge ywe-hwei.

對不起，我很喜歡去，可是我不可以去，因爲我有一個約會。

'I'm sorry. I'd love to go, but I can't, because I have a date.'

61b. hen ke-syi, nei-tyan wo yi-jing gen ren-jya ywe hau le.

很可惜，那天我已經跟人家約好了。

'What a shame, I already have an appointment that day.'

VI. Accepting an apology for being unable to come to a dinner party

62a. bu-yau jyin, na-me sya-yi-tsz ni you-kung de shr-hou, wo dzai ching ni chr-fan.

不要緊，那麼下一次你有空的時候，我再請你吃飯。

'It doesn't matter. Then, next time when you are free, I'll treat you to dinner.'

62b. (ni jen-de bu-neng lai-ma? ...) na jyou jr-hau sya-tsz le.

（你眞的不能來嗎？…）那就只好下次了。

'(Are you sure you can't come?...) Then (maybe) next time.'

VII. A response to an offer of drink, such as

ni syi-hwan he she-me? cha hwo ka-fei?

你喜歡喝什麼？茶或咖啡？

'What would you like to have, tea or coffee?'

63a. sye-sye, ka-fei ke-yi.

謝謝，咖啡可以。

'Thank you. Coffee'll be

63b. (bu-yung ma-fan le...) ka-fei hau le.

（不用麻煩了…）咖啡好了。

'(Don't bother...) Then

fine.'

(I like) coffee.'

64a. (?) sye-sye, swei-byan.
謝謝，隨便。
'Thank you. Whatever.'

64b. dou ke-yi, kan she-me bi-jyau fang-byan.
都可以，看什麼比較方便。
'Either one. Whatever is convenient for you.'

65a. bu, sye-sye, wo bu-yau ma-fan ni.
不，謝謝，我不要麻煩你。
'No, thank you. I don't want to trouble you.'

65b. sye-sye, bu-yung le, bu-yau ma-fan.
謝謝，不用了，不要麻煩。
'No, thank you. Don't bother.'

65c. sye-sye, bu-yung le, wo gang he gwo.
謝謝，不用了，我剛喝過。
'No, thank you. I just had something to drink.'

65d. sye-sye, bai-kai-shwei jyou hau le.
謝謝，白開水就好了。
'Thank you. Water will be fine.'

VIII. During and after the dinner

66a. ching jin-lyang chr, bu-yau ke-chi.
請儘量吃，不要客氣。
'Please eat as much as you like. Don't be polite.'

66b. (mei she-me tsai) bu-yau ke-chi, ching da-jya dz-ji lai.
（沒什麼菜）不要客氣，請大家自己來。
'(There's not much food). Don't be polite. Please help

yourself.'

67a. sye-sye, jin-tyan wan de hen you-yi-sz, ke-shr shr-hou yi-jing wan le, wo bi-syu dzou le.

謝謝，今天玩得很有意思，可是時候已經晚了，我必須走了。

'Thank you. I had a good time, but it's getting late. I've got to go now.'

67b. sye-sye jin-wan je-me feng-sheng de jau-dai, shr-hou bu dzau le, wo hai you dyan shr, syan gau-tsz le.

謝謝今晚這麼豐盛的招待，時候不早了，我還有點事，先告辭了。

'Thank you for the abundant delicious dinner. It's getting late. I still have something else to do. I've got to go now.'

68a. bu, bu, hai dzau, dwo dzwo yi-dyan ba!

不，不，還早，多坐一點吧！

'No, no, it's still early. Stay a little longer.'

68b. hai dzau ma! dzai dzwo hwei-er.

還早嘛，再坐會兒。

'It's still early. Stay a little longer.'

69a. bu, bu, wo yi-jing ma-fan le ban-tyan, wo ying-gai dzou le.

不，不，我已經麻煩了半天，我應該走了。

'No, no, I've bothered you half day. I've got to go now.'

69b. bu-yung le, da-rau tai jyou le. ni-men ye dei syiu-syi le, gai-tyan dzai jyu-yi-jyu.

不用了，打擾太久了，你們也得休息了，改天再聚一聚 。

'No, I've already bothered you long enough. You have to rest too. We can get together again' sometime.'

70a. dzai-jyan, man-man dzou, ching dzai lai.
再見，慢慢走，請再來。
'Bye, walk slowly, and come again please.'

70b. man dzou, you-kung dzai lai.
慢走，有空再來。
'Take it easy (lit; walk slowly). Come again when you have time.'

71a. ching ni ti wo gen ni tai-tai shwo 'ni hau'
請你替我跟你太太說“你好”。
'Please say 'Hello' to your wife.'

71b. ching dai syang sau-fu-ren wun hau.
請代向嫂夫人問好。
'Please give my regards to your wife (an honorific address form).'

71c. ching dai wo syang ni tai-tai wun hau.
請代我向你太太問好。
'Please give my regards to your wife.'

IX. A response to a phone call requesting to talk to someone like:

wei, ma-fan ching lyou mei-hwa syau-jye ting dyan-hwa.
喂，麻煩請劉美華小姐聽電話。
'Hello, may I speak to Miss Liu Mei-hwa?'

72a. shr wo. (or je shr liu mei-hwa)
是我。（或這是劉美華。）
'It's me.' (or 'This is Liu Mei-hwa.')

72b. wo jyou shr.
我就是。
'It's me.'

X. A response to a compliment, such as:

ni-de gwo-yu shwo de jen hau.
你的國語說得眞好。
'Your Mandarin is wonderful.'

73a. bu-shr, bu-shr.
不是，不是。
'No, no.'

73b. na-li, hai cha de hen.
那裏，還差得很。
'Where? It's still very poor.'

74a. bu-dwei, bu-dwei.
不對，不對。
'That's not right, that's not right.'

74b. na-li, ni gwo-jyang le.
那裏，你過獎了。
'Where? You're too kind. (lit: You overpraised me.)'

XI. A condolence for someone's misfortune, such as:

dwei-jin bi-jyau mang, yin-wei wo mu-chin sheng-bing ju-yuan le.
最近比較忙，因爲我母親生病住院了。
'I have been quite busy recently, because my mother is in the hospital.'

75a. dwei-bu-chi.
對不起。
'I'm sorry.'

75b. jen-de a? syan-dzai you-mei-you hau dyan le?
眞的啊？現在有沒有好點了？
'Really? Is she getting better now?'

75c. jen-de a? na syan-dzai ching-kwang dzen-yang?
眞的啊？那現在情況怎樣？
'Really? How's she now?'

XII. Making a request

76a. dwei-bu-chi, wo bu-yau gei ni ma-fan, ke-shr ni-de shou-yin-ji sheng-yin tai da, ching ni gwan syau yi-dyan hau-bu-hau?

對不起，我不要給你麻煩，可是你的收音機聲音太大，請你關小一點，好不好？

'I'm sorry. I don't want to trouble you, but your radio is too loud. Please turn down your radio a little bit, OK?'

76b. dwei-bu-chi, (je-me wan da-rau nin) neng-bu-neng ma-fan nin ba shou-yin-jyi de sheng-yin shau-wei nung syau yi-dyan, hau-bu-hau?

對不起，（這麼晚打擾您）能不能麻煩您把收音機的聲音稍微弄小一點，好不好？

'I'm sorry to bother you so late at night. Could I (possibly) trouble you to turn down the radio a little bit?'

77a. dwei-bu-chi, (yin-wei...) ma-fan ni, ching ni jye gei wo da-dz-ji yi-ge wan-shang, hau-bu-hau?

對不起，（因爲…）麻煩你，請你借給我打字機一個晚上，好不好？

'I'm sorry to bother you, (because of...) Could you please lend me your typewriter for one night, OK?'

77b. (dwei-bu-chi, yin-wei...) neng-bu-neng gen ni jye da-dz-ji jye-yung yi-ge wan-shang?

（對不起，因爲…）能不能跟你借打字機借用一個晚上？

'(I'm sorry, because...) Can I borrow your typewriter for one night?'

XIII. A response to an introduction

78a. (?) hen gau-sying ren-shr ni. 很高興認識你。 'I'm pleased to meet you.'	78b. jyou-yang. 久仰。 'Have heard a lot about you. 78c. sying-hwei. 幸會。 'Nice to meet you.' 78d. ni hau. 你好。 'Hello.'

Attitudes in Chinese are often expressed by the use of modal auxiliaries and particles (and the intonation and length that go with the particles.) These two aspects are, however, rather difficult to master, so some American learners of Chinese often misuse them and thus do not express their attitudinal and social meanings as they intend to. For example, bu-bi (不必) 'need not', bu-yung (不用) 'need not', bu-hwei (不會) 'cannot, will not' and bu-neng (不能) 'cannot' are often mixed up, and particles la (啦), a (啊) and ma (嘛) are often confused too.

American learners seem to have difficulty in making a request or an offer by combining modal auxiliaries and some courtesy expressions, such as ma-fan (麻煩) 'bother' or fang-byan (方便) 'convenient' into a subtle polite question, such as (55b) and (76b). Instead, they often make a statement, and then add a tag-type question such as (56a), (57a), (76a) and (77a). This type of request seems to demand a clear choice between 'yes' or 'no', which may sound harsh or insincere to many native Chinese speakers.

Most Americans are quite at home with the high frequency formulaic expressions, such as sye-sye (謝謝) 'Thank you', bu ke-chi (不客氣) 'Don't be polite', na-li na-li (那裏，那裏) 'Where? Where?' mei gwan-syi (沒關係) 'It doesn't matter', etc. Yet the more elaborate ones, especially those involving a distinction between honorific and humble meanings such as byan-tsan (便餐) 'simple dinner', shang-guang (賞光) 'come (to a dinner party)', da-rau (打擾) 'bother', often cause them problems. Expressions such as (73a) and (74a) are sometimes found among American learners of Chinese, and according to my observation, it seems that they usually happen in situations when Americans consider the compliment is not right or true. They want to deny it, but they do not know which expression to use. If they are complimented on something they agree or they like, they often use sye-sye 'Thank you' or na-li na-li 'Where? Where?' as a response.

The other types of inappropriate expressions are caused by direct transfer from English, such as (48a), (52a), (53a), (61a), (63a), (72a) and (78a) above. Ni hau ma? (你好嗎？) 'How are you' in (48a) and hen gau-sying ren-sh ni (很高興認識你)'I'm pleased to meet you' in (78a) are not common expressions in Chinese, but recently they have become acceptable to some young people. Maybe it is because of the influence of frequent contact with English.

The root of this misuse of formulaic expressions is that many foreign language learners are short of formulaic expressions. They thus apply the limited ones they have learned to every single case, irrespective of the contextual meaning difference, or create some new expressions or make a direct transfer from their mother tongue. In Appendixes II and III we have listed the common formulaic expressions in Mandarin and American English, and many of them seldom appear in L_2 learners' conversation, and that is one of the major reasons that their conversation may sound abrupt and stiff.

5.2.2.3 The shortage of conversational gambits

Besides the formulaic expressions for various social purposes, one needs also some transitional expressions to introduce what he is about to say, prepare the listener for a change of topic or the termination of a conversation, in order to make the whole conversation proceed smoothly. These transitional expressions are called 'gambits' here (Keller 1979). For example, when introducing an opinion, a speaker might use the gambit, 'What I have in mind is this' or 'In my opinion...'. When interrupting to add a point he might say, 'May I make a comment here' or 'Pardon me, but...'. and to bow out of a conversation, he may say, 'Well, it was nice talking to you' or

'Thanks for calling', etc. (Keller 1979). These gambits do not carry much content of the conversation, yet they are very important as tools and strategies to pave the way for smooth transition. Without them, a conversation may jerk on the way and sound abrupt or impolite to the listener. A good conversationalist, according to Keller (1979:219), 'breaks smoothly into a conversation, picks up the thread effortlessly, holds his listeners enthralled as he develops his points, and he elegantly bows out of the conversation'. He accomplishes this, among other things, by a good control of gambits.

Due to a lack of sufficient gambits, a non-native speaker often enters, interrupts and ends a conversation abruptly, tactlessly and does it contrary to the way an adult native speaker may speak. The data reveal that some non-native speakers begin an invitation abruptly without prefacing the invitation in some way. For example, they say, 'I would like to invite you to a dinner party. Can you come?' or, even worse, start an invitation by, 'Mr. Smith are you free this Saturday?', which sometimes puts the addressee on the spot, and leaves him in a difficult position as to whether to say yes or no. A polite and considerate way to invite is to issue an invitation first, and then ask if it is convenient for the person invited. When declining an invitation, or making an excuse to leave a party early, a non-native speaker sometimes plunges right into an apology, such as 'I'm sorry, I've got to go now, (because...)' and forgets to express some gratitude or compliment. When asking a neighbor or a colleague to turn down the radio, instead of adopting a more polite indirect strategy (see 2.4 and 4.4) or prepacing it with some excuse to soften the FTA, he might go right ahead and say 'Please turn down the radio. It's too loud. I can't concentrate on my work (or can't fall asleep).' When he wants to end a conversation, he doesn't use some preclosing statement (see Appendixes II & III), but simply ends it with 'OK. Good-bye.' or 'I'm sorry I have to go now. Good-bye.' without some additional friendly remark before or after the parting expression, such as 'See you again sometime', 'I'll call you sometime', or 'Maybe we can get together sometime', or in Chinese dwei-bu-chi da-rau ni tai-jyou le, wo syang wo gai dzou le (對不起，打擾你太久了，我想我該走了) 'I'm sorry to have bothered you so long. I guess I'd better be going now', you-kung dau women jya lai dzwo-dzwo (有空到我們家來坐坐) 'You should come over and visit us sometime when you are free', or women dzai lyan-lwo (我們再聯絡) 'Let's get in touch (again)', or na women you kung dzai lyau (那我們有空再聊) 'We'll have to (get together and) talk when we are free'. To end a conversation normally takes some time and needs some preclosing and closing remark to make the addressee feel that the speaker was happy to be with him, and would like to see him again sometime. We do not suddenly quit talking, say good-bye, and leave each other abruptly. Yet these gambits are usually not acquired in a language class, and foreign language learners thus do not know how to handle such situations. There are many types of gambits to get us going smoothly in a conversation. Keller and Warner have a detailed discussion of them.[30] In Appendixes II & III there are some gambits frequently used by native speakers, yet are often missing in non-native speakers' speech. They include attention-getting, interrupting, topic-changing and preclosing gambits.

5.3 Discussion of pragmatic failure analysis results

The present survey and analysis of the L_2 learners' pragmatic failure in Chinese and English indicate that, after receiving several years' formal foreign language instruction, many L_2 learners still remain incompetent in everyday conversation, although they have had quite a good command of grammatical structures and have a pretty large vocabulary. Their failure falls into many categories, which can be grouped into two major types: sociopragmatic failure and pragmalinguistic failure. In this section we will discuss the reasons behind these different types of pragmatic failure from four aspects: teaching material, learning environment, teaching method and teachers' competence.

First, let us take a look at the English textbooks and Mandarin textbooks for L_2 learners in Taiwan and see how much they have affected foreign language students' communicative performance. It is clear from the preceding discussion that many L_2 learners are either single-style speakers, or are unfamiliar with the sociocultural knowledge and various formulaic expressions and gambits for verbal exchanges. This could be attributed to the teaching materials which do not provide the needed information, drills and application activities in this aspect. A general survey of the high school English textbooks currently used in Taiwan indicate that there are two major types of textbooks: the old and the new. The old ones were compiled during the early 1970's, and the new ones are those following the New Junior High and Senior High School Curriculum Standards for English issued by the Ministry of Education in 1983. Three volumes of new junior high and senior high English texts have been published since 1984, and the rest are still in process of compilation by National Compilation Committee. The old junior high English textbooks were compiled by National Compilation Committee too, but the old senior high English textbooks were compiled by different book publishers. The old junior high English textbooks are audiolingual by design and almost completely structually oriented. and the new ones are also structurally oriented but with a lot more realistic daily life dialogues. The old senior high English textbooks in general belong to the traditional type of readers, which include different varieties of articles, ranging from essays, fables, short stories to biographies, and so forth. Each lesson also includes some vocabulary, idiom explanation, pattern drills and some written exercises. All aim at the reinforcement of the structures, vocabulary and idioms that appear in the lesson. There is little attention paid to oral communication. The new edition incorporates some changes and improvements. Besides reading ability and structure build-up, it also pays a lot more attention to oral communication. For example, there are an 'oral practice' and a 'questions for discussion' section in each lesson, and each volume contains one or two lessons written in the conversational style. The content of articles includes not only the above-mentioned traditional categories, but also life styles, customs, manners and polite forms of language. There is also a book called English Dialogues for the sophomores' elective course, English Conversation. English Dialogues includes eight units, and each consists of one dialogue, some questions for discussion and interpretation, exercises for language reproduction, and the completion of an open-ended dialogue. This indicates that there is a new trend in Taiwan that oral communication receive more attention and be incorporated into teaching materials. The old edition of structurally oriented junior high English textbooks does contain a lot of dialogues, but most of them are unnatural and are constructed merely for the practice of grammatical patterns. The subjects for the above pragmatic failure analysis all received their English instruction through these structurally oriented textbooks or even earlier, through grammar-translation method textbooks. This explains why many college English majors and high school English teachers feel tongue-tied in real life conversation, though they have a fair command of grammatical competence. We can predict that the high school students using the new textbooks probably will have a better command of oral English in the long run, yet it is still doubtful that they can be communicatively competent in real social interactions, because the new textbooks and the teachers' manual still provide very little information, few examples or exercises for the development of communicative competence.

The most popularly used textbooks for spoken Mandarin in Taiwan are De Francis' *Beginning Chinese* (1963), *Intermediate Chinese* (1964), *Advanced Chinese* (1966), and *Spoken Chinese I* (1983), *Spoken Chinese II* (1970). The latter, *Spoken Chinese I and II*, are actually the revised versions of Tewksbury's *Speak Chinese* (1948) and F.F. Wang's *Chinese Dialogues* (1953) with only a few changes in place names and some additional exercises. These books were all published long time ago. Much of the vocabulary, phrases and patterns are rather old-fashioned usage, for example, *chr jung-gwo fan* (吃中國飯) 'eat Chinese food', *mei gung-fu* (沒工夫 'to have no time', *you-jeng-jyu* (郵政局) 'post office', *pu-dz* (舖子) 'store' *ji-dan tang* (雞蛋湯) 'egg drop soup', *fei-ji lwo sya-lai* (飛機落下來 'The airplane is landing', etc. Some phrases are the direct translation from English, such as *ni hau ma?* (你好嗎 'How are you?' *sye-sye, wo hen hau* (謝謝，我很好) 'Fine, thank you', and *wan-an* (晚安) 'Good night'. Like in the English textbooks most expressions that appear in the Chinese textbooks contain only the formal style.

There are very few examples of casual style for use among people with a close relationship. The content of these textbooks is arranged according to situations, such as 'Lesson 1: Greeting Friends', 'Lesson 2: Meeting People', etc. in De Francis', and 'Lesson 1: How Are You?', 'Lesson 2: Buying Pens' in Speak Chinese I; however, they are actually structurally oriented because each lesson is arranged according to the units of structure that are intended to be learned. The dialogues are constructed mainly for the practice and reinforcement of grammatical patterns, and therefore some of the dialogues are unrealistic and unnatural. Almost ninety percent of the exercises, notes and drills are centered around the grammatical structures. It is easy to understand this fact, because they were written during the height of popularity of the audiolingual approach.

The dialogues in the intermediate and advanced level textbooks are more natural, yet there are no explanations about the pragmatic usage of any expression, including those social courtesy expressions, in Speak Chinese. There are some descriptions about the social meanings and usage of some courtesy expressions in the notes of De Francis' books, but only a few. For example, there are only seven notes about pragmatic usage in the twenty-four lessons of Beginning Chinese, and one of them is not even adequately explained.[31] The design and content of these books explain the frequent occurrence of expressions like ni hau ma? 'How are you?', sye-sye, wo hen hau 'Fine, thank you', wan-an 'Good night', and some old or very formal expressions, such as gung-fu 'time', lau-jya 'trouble, bother' and dai-man 'to neglect a visitor or guest', in American learners' speech, and it also explains the absence of common casual everyday expressions and American learners' difficulty in understanding the ambiguous, subtle positive or negative responses in Chinese.

Generally speaking, the above mentioned Chinese teaching materials for foreign language students are quite out of date, and the design is no better than the English textbooks used in Taiwan. Nevertheless, it is interesting to discover that American students in general have better communicative performance in Chinese than Chinese learners in English. Therefore, we can conclude that although textbooks play a very important role in developing students' communicative ability, other factors, such as language environment, teaching method and teachers' competence are equally important.

Some intermediate and advanced American learners of Chinese in Taiwan discard the above mentioned old-fashioned, Americanized or too formal expressions as appear in the textbooks. Instead, they can manage quite well with natural, appropriate expressions in given social contexts. This is because they live in the Chinese language environment, they use Chinese as a medium of communication instead of treating it as a subject of study, and they can receive feedback from native speakers. Besides, in the class most instructors are qualified native speakers of Mandarin, who can teach them to differentiate between different kinds of expressions and tell them which are natural, unnatural, formal, informal, polite or familiar ways of speaking. The size of a Chinese language class is very small, usually around five people and it is never larger than ten people. Therefore, students have plenty of opportunities for oral practice. Another important factor is that they can learn Chinese from TV shows. Many Americans told me that they learn a lot spoken Mandarin from TV shows. This is revealed in the situational roleplay data. For example, four people in the roleplay and the written dialogue use the following type of conversation:

A: hey, ni yau chyu na-li?
嘿，你要去那裏？
'Hey, where are you going?'

B: wo chyu mai yau, yin-wei wo tou-tung.
我去買藥，因爲我頭痛。
'I'm going to buy medicine, because I have a headache.'
or: wo chyu mai yau, yin-wei wo gan-mau le.
我去買藥，因爲我感冒了。
'I'm going to buy medicine, because I have a cold.'

This type of response seems not typical American way nor typical Chinese way. After I checked with some Americans why they used the above type of response in the roleplay greeting, they told me that they hear it so frequently on TV commercials.

Chinese learners of English in Taiwan, however, are at a disadvantage. First, there is no natural language environment and there are very few chances for the language learners to use English for real communication. Classrooms are probably the only and best places for them to practice oral communication skills. However, even in the classroom they are deprived of opportunities to speak English because spoken English is not tested on the joint entrance examination, and many teachers thus devote almost all of the class period to instruction in grammar, vocabulary, reading, and writing skills. For some teachers who are willing to maintain a balance among listening, speaking, reading, and writing skills, they still find it hard to provide sufficient opportunities for every student because the average class size is about fifty students. Furthermore, many high school teachers have not had sufficient training in spoken English and communicative competence themselves, so they can not easily and competently handle English in the classroom, and thus tend to avoid using English in the classroom. Both the teacher and students treat English as a subject of study, not as a medium of communication. To be frank, inspite of different textbook syllabus design, many teachers still follow the grammar-translation method in the classroom. Even college Freshman English courses still focus on the development of reading skills, and provide little chance for oral communication. Therefore, after six years of junior and senior high English and one year of Freshman English, many Chinese students still have difficulty communicating, not to mention communicating appropriately.

The above discussion points out that teaching materials, learning environment, teaching method and teachers' competence are all important factors to help L_2 learners acquire communicative competence. Most of the foreign language learners, especially those who learn L_2 in L_1 environment, acquire imbalanced abilities and skills in the foreign language. They are normally much stronger in grammatical competence than in communicative competence. Grammatical competence, of course, is important and actually is the foundation of communicative competence. However, the goal of language learning should not stop at grammatical competence, but should go beyond that until the L_2 learners can really communicate in real-life interaction.

Chapter VI

The Teaching of Conversational Interaction and Politeness Strategies

After much research in sociolinguistics, speech act theory, anthropological linguistics and conversational analysis there is no need to defend the position that conversation is a well-structured activity and a rule-governed social behavior. To carry on a conversation in a foreign language successfully is not a simple matter, because it is not an arbitrary array of decontextualized sentences, but rather a coherent discourse, which requires the interlocutors' grammatical competence, communicative competence, and knowledge about rules of conversation. To chat with a friend in one's own native language is a simple and generally an enjoyable event, but to talk with a foreigner in a foreign language is sometimes a torture for many people. There seems to be a lot of barriers (linguistic, social, and cultural) between the interlocutors. From our analysis of L_2 learners' conversation in Chapter 5, we found that most L_2 learners do have a lot of communicative difficulties in daily conversation, even for those who have reached the intermediate or advanced level of language proficiency. Yet not until the rise of the communicative approach during the past few years had foreign language curricula seriously tried to help L_2 learners to overcome their difficulty and acquire communicative competence in conversation. In this chapter we will make some suggestions as to how to adopt the communicative approach into the foreign language class to help students to acquire conversational skills and politeness strategies. Before a discussion on that subject, we will first take a look at how a native speaker acquires his communicative competence, and compare the difference between first language and foreign language acquisition in the aspect of communicative competence, and also briefly describe the nature of the communicative approach and evaluate its feasibility to the teaching of conversational skills and politeness strategies for Chinese or English as a foreign language.

6.1 The acquisition of communicative competence in native and foreign languages

The goal of foreign language learning is to acquire the competence that a native speaker possesses. But what is exactly the competence that a native speaker possesses? According to Chomsky (1965) this competence is a set of rules which enables the native speaker to produce and understand an unlimited number of grammatical sentences, including novel sentences he has never encountered before, and normally a native speaker has acquired this competence by the age of five or six. However, observing people around us, we may easily discover that native speakers do not simply possess the linguistic competence for composing grammatical sentences, but also the communicative competence for using the appropriate linguistic forms in any given social setting. Hymes (1962, 1964, 1972) was the first person to argue against the inadequacy and narrowness of Chomsky's notion of linguistic competence and proposed the notion of communicative competence to take into account native speakers' real language ability. A child possessing only Chomsky-type of competence, according to Hymes(1972), would produce and understand all the grammatical sentences of a language but would not have accquired the knowledge of how and when to use them and to whom. In other words, the child would not only produce any sentence at random but would also produce speech and silence at random. No wonder Hymes comments that 'such a child would be likely to be institutionalized' (Hymes 1972, p.277). Hymes (1972) also claims that a child acquires knowledge of sentences, not only as grammatical, but more importantly as appropriate and that competence in use is part of the same developmental matrix as competence in grammar.

Hymes' view of a child's acquisition of communicative competence is further supported by some studies in child discourse (e.g. Ervin-Tripp & Mitchell-kernan 1977, and Dore 1977), which claim that during childhood the social rules of language use are acquired along with the formal properties of language. Gleason and Weintraub (1976) conducted some experiments and found that children have acquired some ritualized routines such as 'Can I have... ', 'please', etc. and can respond to social variables of power and solidarity while addressing others in early childhood. Hsu and Morgană (1981) also conducted an investigation of children's use of directives at home during mealtime, and found that children at the age of five to ten already know how to use different directive forms to parents and siblings to indicate proper degrees of politeness.

Children start learning the use of linguistic forms for various social functions at an early stage of their life from the people around them, especially their parents and the elder members of the family, mostly through explicit instructions or sometimes through repeated nagging. For instance, it is very common to see a parent tell his/her child to say 'thank you' or 'bye-bye' even before the child can verbalize the expression clearly, and to instruct him to address elders by different appropriate address forms. This is confirmed by the study of Gleason and Weintraub (1976). They claim that routines are acquired differently from the rest of language in that they are explicitly taught by parents, who prompt their use with the marker 'Say' and later 'What do you say?'and who ask after the occasion 'What did you say?' The ability to use forms of address and conversational routines appropriately is not only important to children, but even more important to parents, because incompetence in this aspect is often regarded as bad manners, which is sometimes worse than linguistic incompetence. That is why young children are often taught and nagged to use some polite formulaic expressions before they can thoroughly understand the meaning or are even drilled to use gestures and other body language (such as nodding the head or waving the little hand) to accompany or substitute for the verbal polite expression. The acquisition of communicative competence, unlike that of grammatical competence, is a long-term process. The process of acquiring communicative competence starts quite early in childhood and continues until adulthood, and sometimes continues to be modified throughout one's life time. During the long process of acquisition and application of the communicative rules, people internalize the rules unconsciously and forget how they acquire them, and think that everybody has the same communicative competence and treat those who speak and act differently from their norms as being odd, impolite or uncultured. Most people are not aware that there are different sociocultural rules of speaking in other parts of the world.

Foreign language learners are generally short of opportunities to acquire the sociolinguistic rules of the target language, because these rules are not as easily observable and available as linguistic rules, and not until recently have these rules been incorporated into the foreign language curricula. Many language teachers are not aware of the existence of different rules of language use and often treat the deviant language behavior as improper social behavior. Those teachers who are aware of the rule differences are often hesitant and embarrassed to correct the adult learner's improper speech behavior, especially those which are perceived as impolite speech behavior, for fear that they might give the implication that the learner is not 'properly' brought up. Under such circumstances many L_2 learners receive little input to develop their communicative competence. They very often have to resort to other resources and learn it by themselves, if they are sensitive enough to detect the differences and generalize the rules for themselves. An L_2 learner learning the language in the target culture may have a better chance to acquire the sociocultural knowledge for language use through observation and feedback from the native speakers around him. Whereas, L_2 learners learing a foreign language in their own native land can only rely on textbooks, teachers and language classes for the needed information and practice, and if unfortunately none of these resources furnish them with sociolinguistic knowledge, they may keep transferring the communicative competence they possess from their native language to the target language.

6.2 The communicative approach to foreign language teaching

The communicative approach has in the last few years become a fashionable term in second and foreign language teaching. It covers a variety of developments in syllabus design and, to a lesser extent, in methodology and techniques of language teaching. It is an outgrowth of a reaction against the grammatical approach. Canale and Swain (1980, p.2) have given clear and succinct definitions for these two approaches:

> By a grammatical approach we mean one that is organized on the basis of linguistic, or what we call grammatical forms (i.e. phonological forms, morphological forms, syntactic patterns, lexical items) and emphasizes the ways in which these forms may be combined to form grammatical sentences. Most teaching materials currently in use in general second language courses are organized along these lines. A communicative (or functional/notional) approach on the other hand is organized on the basis of communicative functions (e.g. apologizing, describing, inviting, promising) that a given learner or group of learners needs to know and emphasizes the ways in which particular grammatical forms may be used to express these functions appropriately.

A third approach, the situational approach, is organized primarily with reference to the particular settings (or situations) in which the learner may need to perform in the second or foreign language (cf. Wilkins, 1973). Although it is logically distinct from the other two approaches, Canale and Swain (1980, p.2) suggest that it can be subsumed under either the grammatical or communicative approach. The two reasons they give are:

> First, grammatical syllabuses often present the grammatical forms under study in dialogues or contexts that are labelled 'situations'. However, to the extent that the basis of syllabus organization is the grammatical forms and not the situations themselves, the approach is essentially a grammatical one. Second, to the extent that the

> main reasons for including a given situation in a situational syllabus are to respond to the learner's sociocultural needs and to generate appropriate language, there seems to be sufficient overlap in objectives between situational approaches and communicative approaches to justify relaxing the distinction.

Canale and Swain's explanation justifies my claim in the last chapter that some Chinese and English textbooks, though using a situational approach in form, are actually following a grammatical syllabus.

Language teaching approaches have been greatly influenced by linguistic theories, for the task of language learning and teaching is by and large, though not entirely, determined by the view of what language is, and how linguistics defines it. In the past five decades linguistics has evolved in the main stream from Bloomfieldian and neo-Bloomfieldian American structuralism to Chomsky's generative-transformational grammar, and the recent diversified developments in sociolinguistics, sociological semantics, anthropological linguistics, psycholinguistics, and pragmatics. Structuralism has restricted itself to the study of form, and the classification of the forms of a language without reference to the categories of meaning. Transformational grammar has shifted away from the taxonomic classification of structure to developing systems of rules to account for, rather than merely describe by means of lists, the structural possibilities of a language. Yet transformational grammar shares one fundamental characteristic with structural linguistics. That is, it is still concerned only with the structure of language without reference to social meanings and contexts. Transformational grammar accomplishes this by drawing a distinction between the concepts of 'competence' and 'performance' and excludes the latter from linguistic consideration. This is perhaps, as Hymes (1972) claims, why transformational grammar, so revolutionary in linguistics, has had such little effect on language teaching. It only offers alternative strategies for teaching grammar. The audiolingual approach and cognitive approach's emphasis on mastery of structure is actually paralled by a similar emphasis within structuralism and transformational theory.

Chomsky introduced the concepts of 'competence' and 'performance' in 1965. The former refers to the idealized speaker-hearer's knowledge of his language in a homogeneous community (i.e. the equivalent of grammatical competence used in this study), while the latter refers to the actual use of language in concrete situations. These two concepts have initiated different reactions in linguistic theory and foreign language teaching. Hymes (1972) and Campbell and Wales (1970) were among the first to point out that the competence-performance distinction provides no place for consideration of the appropriateness of sociocultural significance of an utterance in the situational and verbal context in which it is used. Campbell and Wales point out that Chomsky's competence omits by far the most important linguistic ability, 'to produce or understand utterances which are not so much grammatical but, more important, appropriate to the context in which they are made' (1970:247). Hymes (1972) expresses his rejection of Chomsky's theory in the following statement:

> A mode of language must design it with a face toward communicative conduct and social life... there are rules of use without which the rules of grammar would be useless. Just as rules of syntax can control aspects of phonology, and just as semantic rules perhaps control aspects of syntax, so rules of speech acts enter as a controlling factor for linguistic form as a whole. (1972:278)

According to Hymes (1972), an adequate linguistic theory should be broad enough to account for a real speaker-listener's linguistic knowledge and ability in a real heterogeneous speech community, and the notion of competence should include not only grammatical competence but also contextual or sociolinguistic competence. Although Chomsky equates 'performance' with language use, Hymes points out that Chomsky's notion of 'performance' seems to lead to confusion between actual performance and underlying rules of performance, and he would rather refer to the former as 'communicative performance' and the latter as 'communicative competence' (1972, pp. 283-284). Paulston (1974) also claims the necessity to maintain a difference between 'communicative performance' and 'communicative competence' in language teaching.

Besides Hymes, the communicative approach also was greatly influenced by Halliday's sociological semantics (1973, 1978). Halliday views language essentially as a system of meaning potential, i.e. as sets of semantic options available to the language user that relate what the user can do (in terms of social behavior) to what the user can say (in terms of the grammar). The process involved in language production is one in which a social system determines sets of behavioral options, which are realized as sets of semantic options, which in turn are realized as sets of grammatical options. Hymes and Halliday have been the most influential in steering the development of the communicative approach to foreign language teaching. Other linguistic theories, such as sociolinguistics, pragmatics, speech act theory and discourse analysis, which have directed our attention away from the limited domain of abstracted context-free linguistic study to the inclusion of language use and social context in language study, have also contributed a great deal to the theoretical basis of the communicative approach.[32]

Since the notion of communicative competence gained attention in the field of language teaching, the textbook design has shifted from grammatical syllabus to functional/notional syllabus. The functional/notional texts are arranged according to categories of communicative functions (e.g. greeting, requesting, agreement, persuasion, etc.) rather than grammatical categories. Wilkins (1976), the Council of Europe (van EK 1976), Munby (1978), Dobson (1979) and Finocchiaro (1979) have each provided lists of functional units, for the reference of text designers, based on the communicative needs of language learners. Recently, many foreign language textbooks have followed the outline of functional/notional syllabus, to mention a few, for example, Kettering's Developing Communicative Competence (1975), Coffey's Fitting In (1983), Jones & Baeyer's Functions of American English (1983) and Tillitt and Bruder's Speaking Naturally (1985). The common characteristics shared by these texts are that in each lesson there are one or more model dialogues, a list of different linguistic forms used to realize the particular communicative function of the lesson (cf. Appendices II and III), a passage or passages explicitly explaining the sociocultural rules of language use in the target language culture, and some suggested communicative activities. This type of text can help students learn to make appropriate linguistic choices in a variety of situations and direct them to communicate effectively in both formal and informal situations.

Aside from the syllabus design discussed above, some applied linguists have devised specific techniques and procedures to assist communicative language teaching to develop into a teaching methodology. For example, Holmes and Brown (1976), Paulston (1974, 1979) and Littlewood (1981) have suggested many techniques and activities, ranging from 'matching situations and utterances', 'guessing implications' (by Holmes & Brown), 'getting acquainted with social formulas and dialogues', 'problem-solving activities', 'roleplays' (by Paulston), 'role-playing controlled through used dialogues', 'discussion', 'large-scale simulation activities' to 'improvisation' (by Littlewood).

The communicative approach does have some advantages over the grammatical approach, as stated in Swan (1985:87), 'The communicative approach has directed our attention to the importance of other aspects of language beside propositional meaning and helped us to analyze and teach language of interaction. At the same time, it has encouraged a methodology which relies less on mechanical teacher-centered practice and more on the simulation of real-life exchanges'. However, there have been some problems. The first problem is the lack of agreement about the communicative functions to be incorporated into the teaching material. For example, there is a great diversity of classification of communicative functions among Wilkins (1976), van EK (1976), Munby (1978), Dobson (1979) and Finocchiaro (1979), and this constitutes a big problem for the selection of what functions to be taught. Second, the lack of congruence between linguistic forms and communicative functions (i.e. one function can be realized by different grammatical forms) will present a problem to language learners, for they may suffer from a lack of a systematic, organized grammatical knowledge of the target language, if they are exposed to the communicative syllabus only. Third, many teachers who are non-native speakers of the target language and have been trained under the grammar-translation method or grammatical approach are often not communicatively competent enough to handle a communicative teaching class. Fourth, so far there seems to be insufficient detailed cross-cultural sociolinguistic studies available for the reference of text designers and teachers. All these problems cast doubt on the feasibility and validity of the communicative approach. No wonder Swan (1985) takes a critical view of the communicative approach, and Paulston (1984) also has second thoughts about the communicative language teaching. According to Paulston (1984, p.8) the problem is that 'we have gone too far, and that the swing of pendulum of high fashion has carried us off the Middle Road of good judgment and common sense'. Swan (1985, p.86) has a similar comment, 'As the theoretical pendulum swings from one extreme to the other, each exaggeration is followed by its opposite... Each time this happens, the poor language teacher is told to junk a large part of his or her repertoire of material, activities, and methods (because these are no longer scientific) and to replace them by a gleaming new battery of up-to-date apparatus and techniques. The students, as a rule, learn about as much as before'. People abandon one approach for another too easily and throw away some good old teaching methods and materials too quickly. There is no question about the importance of communicative competence and the validity of the theoretical basis of the communicative approach. As Paulston points out the difficulties do not basically lie at the theoretical level. Hymes' framework is holding up very well and further work like Brown and Levinson (1978) has added useful support (cf. Paulston 1984). The problem is how we can deal with the problems mentioned above, and propose some practical and substantial ways to incorporate the concept of 'communicative competence' into the foreign language course to enable the students to acquire not only the communicative competence but also a solid foundation of grammatical competence. In the following section we will venture to put forth some methods as to how to develop language learners' communicative competence in social interaction.

6.3 Methods and materials for teaching conversational interaction and politeness strategies

The discussion below is divided into four parts: (1) what to teach (2) when to teach (3) how to teach, and (4) the training of language teachers, aimed at solving the four problems of the communicative approach mentioned in the preceding section.

6.3.1 The content of an oral communication class

Different language learners have different goals and needs of learning. The specification of communicative requirements and needs must take place prior to the selection of communicative functions to be taught. An ideal communicative textbook design should take learners' specific needs and goals into consideration aside from the general communicative abilities. Syllabus design, therefore, can be divided into foreign language for special purposes and foreign language for general purposes (cf. Munby 1978 & Kuo 1985b). No matter for what purpose, the need and ability to carry on social interaction in everyday conversation appropriately and effectively is one of the most important communicative abilities that most foreign language learners would like to obtain.[33] Furthermore, as discussed in the introduction, one of the major functions of language is to establish and reinforce social ties, therefore it is regarded as essential and necessary that conversational and politeness strategies be included in the foreign language curricula. In this study we will dissuss the content, methods and techniques for teaching conversational and politeness strategies.

To develop communicative competence for everyday conversation the teaching material should include at least the following functions:

1. Greetings
2. Partings
3. Address systems
4. Introductions
5. Invitations
6. Making requests
7. Gratitude
8. Apologies
9. Compliments
10. Offers
11. Acceptances and rejections
12. Agreement and disagreement
13. Attention-getting
14. Interruptions
15. Asking people to repeat
16. Changing the topic
17. Preclosing

Under each communicative function, the different linguistic rules and formulaic expressions for realizing this particular function are presented, and formal/informal and polite/familiar distinctions should be specified. The politeness rules and the use of politeness strategies need to be discussed. Most important of all, the text should incorporate the above forms and strategies into natural dialogues for students to practice. The primary principles underlying the communicative syllabus design are that a communicative function can be realized by different grammatical structures and forms, and the variation in linguistic forms carries different social meanings and speakers' attitudes. It is the text designer's job to impart this information, forms and strategies to the language learners explicitly through examples, model dialogues and explanation or discussion, so that the learner can learn the rules of language use and knows how to express himself appropriately and accurately. Tillitt and Bruder (1985) present a good model for such a syllabus design.

6.3.2 The appropriate stage for teaching conversational interaction and politeness strategies

When should we start to introduce a functional syllabus like the one we have just discussed? It is generally agreed that such a syllabus should not be introduced to beginners, who do not have a basic systematic knowledge of grammar yet. Grammatical competence is a basic part and the foundation of communicative competence.

Students need to have a good command of grammatical rules first, so that they can create grammatical forms to express referential meanings, and after that they can learn rules of language usage to make appropriate use of forms to express the intended meanings in context. I believe a structural syllabus is still more suitable for beginners. The functional syllabus can be postponed until the intermediate or advanced level. However, it is not necessary to hold off teaching the rules of language usage until the intermediate or advanced level. A teacher can start imparting social and functional information about linguistic forms from the beginning level. For example, when teaching and drilling on the imperative form, the teacher can also tell the students that it is not a very polite form and is not commonly used in actual social interaction, and tell them under what kind of situation it is appropriate. When teaching an interrogative sentence structure, the teacher may tell the students that an interrogative sentence (e.g. Could you close the door?) can also be used as a polite directive form. When coming across a formal expression like 'How do you do?', or jyou-yang (久仰) 'have heard a lot about you', or a casual familiar expression, like 'forget it' or gan-ma? (幹嘛?) 'What do you want?' the teacher should tell the students the different degrees of their formality and the occasions when they occur. This information can be specified in notes or glossaries in the textbook or in the teacher's manual. In this way students are learning vocabulary, grammar and their contexual usage at every stage of language learning.

A self-contained communicative class for social interaction and politeness strategies is probably best offered to the intermediate or advanced learners who have already acquired an overall grammatical competence and who are interested in using the target language in social interaction. For example, senior high school students or colleage students in Taiwan would be ideal for such a class. In this class, students can review the structures and vocabulary they have learned previously in a larger context from a functional perspective, and learn how to use language as a tool for effective communication.

6.3.3 Classroom teachniques and activities

Being able to respond in grammatical sentences automatically in the classroom is far from being able to communicate effectively in real-life situations. There is a big gap in between. This gap needs to be bridged by utilizing the knowledge of language use and communicative interaction activities.

6.3.3.1 Lectures and discussion activities

In learning how to use and interpret the sociolinguistic rules of the target language, the learner must develop an awareness of areas where the sociolinguistic system of his native language differs from that of the target language and where misperception and misanalysis are most likely to occur. In some situations the rules of use of the two languages may appear similar enough to develop a false sense of security in the learners. The teacher must compare and explain the similarities and differences to the students by brief lectures. The teacher can stimulate learners' awareness of the cross-cultural differences of politeness rules and politeness strategies through discussion. However, the teacher should avoid making moral evaluation or judgment on the cultural values or speech behavior of the target language, but direct students to see the differences as a natural phenomena and crucial elements for successful communication. To minimize the native cultural and language interference and prevent impolite or inappropriate behavior on the part of the learner it is important for the teacher to call students' attention to certain culture-specific or language-specific features when model dialogues are presented, and to bring up some questions for discussion afterwards. For instance, as suggested in Tillitt and Bruder (1985, p.23), the teacher may tell students, 'In the dialogues that follow, listen carefully for the ways people make and accept (or refuse) social invitations'. After listening to a dialogue, the teacher may ask some questions to make sure that students understand the important teaching points, e.g. 'How formal is the dialogue?', 'What kind of formulaic expressions does Tom (the inviter) use?', 'How does Dr. Hampton (the invited person) react to the invitation?', and 'What is his reply?' etc. At the end of a unit, there can be another general overall type of discussion, such as 'Is it acceptable to refuse an invitation in your country? Under what circumstances? Do people use non-invitations (i.e. polite ritual invitation at parting, such as "yc 'll have to come over and visit us sometime")? When going out to a restaurant or movie, is it common in your country to "go dutch"?' (Tillitt & Bruder, 1985:28). This kind of discussion can make students consciously aware of the differences in language use between the target and native languages. According to Paulston's reports (1974, 1979), students love discussion activities of this type, and really benefit from them. Besides listening to recorded dialogues, watching films or videotape recordings followed by similiar types of discussion is as beneficial, or maybe more beneficial, because students can learn nonverbal expressions as well.

6.3.3.2 Communicative activities

The teacher should design some activities to help learners activate the social rules they have learned by realistic activities. Paulston (1974) makes a distinction between two types of communicative interaction activities. In one type, called 'activities in communicative performance', the teaching point is simply to get the meaning across, to be able to communicate some referential meaning in the target language in a fluent manner, and it carries no distinctive social significance. An activity like 'Twenty Questions' is a typical example, where the students are trained to produce and understand the spoken language fluently, and they often apply their native rules of speaking. This type of activity is excellent and necessary for developing grammatical competence, but it has no relationship to developing communicative competence in the target language. In the other type of activity the teaching point is getting the meaning across in a socially acceptable way, and typically these exercises contain culturally relevant information, social interactional rules, and are the real 'activities for communicative competence'. The activities we are going to discuss belong to the latter type. There are surely many kinds of activities that we can use in the classroom. Here I will discuss some effective and commonly used types: (1) Formulaic Expressions and Dialogues. (2) Multiple Choice or What Would You Say? (3) Cued Dialogues and (4) Roleplays.[34]

Formulaic Expressions and Dialogues

In the last chapter we have discussed that one of the foreign language learners' difficuties is a shortage of common formulaic expressions for different kinds of social encounters. Therefore, it is very important to present the common formulaic expressions and the rules for their use in both formal and informal situations, and familiarize students with them by using them in dialogues from structured to semi-structured situations. Below is an example about partings taken from Kettering (1975:4-5).[35]

Formulaic Expressions

Formal

1. Goodbye, Dr./Mr./Ms. last name.
2. I hope to see you again sometime.
3. Have a nice $\begin{Bmatrix}\text{weekend.}\\ \text{vacation.}\\ \text{evening.}\end{Bmatrix}$
4. I really must be going.

Informal

1. Bye.
   So long.
2. See you $\begin{Bmatrix}\text{later.}\\ \text{tomorrow.}\\ \text{in class.}\\ \text{at 3:00.}\end{Bmatrix}$
3. Have a nice $\begin{Bmatrix}\text{weekend.}\\ \text{vacation.}\\ \text{evening.}\end{Bmatrix}$
4. I've got to go.

Dialogues

Formal

1. A: Goodbye, Dr. Marvin.
   B: Goodbye, Susan.

A: Have a nice weekend.

B: Thank you, the same to you.

2. A: I really must be leaving. Thank you for the extra help on the problems.

   B: You're welcome, Rosa.

   A: Goodbye.

   B: Goodbye.

Informal

1. A: Bye, Pete.

   B: So long, John.

   A: Have a nice weekend.

   B: Thanks. You too.

2. A: I've got to go. Thanks for the extra help on the problems.

   B: Sure, anytime.

   A: See you in class tomorrow. Bye.

   B: See you.

Situations

Structured:

1. A: Goodbye, Miss Brown.

   B:

   A: Have a nice weekend, and I'll see you Monday.

   B:

2. A: I really must be leaving. I've got a class at 11:00, Goodbye.

   B:

   A: Oh, Good luck on your test tomorrow.

   B:

Semi-Structured:

1. A: Bob, I'd like to talk longer, but I've got to go.
   B:
   A:
   B:
2. A: O.K., we'll meet at the coffee shop at 7:30 then.
   B:
   A:
   B:

Multiple Choice, or What Would You Say?

A simple exercise to help students become familiar with various levels of formality and the use of different formulaic expressions is to ask students to make a choice among alternative expressions according to a given situation, as follows:

(1) You are at the airport with your boyfriend or girlfriend. He or she is leaving on a two-month trip. An appropriate goodbye is:
   A. Write me. I'll Miss you.
   B. It was nice seeing you.
   C. Bye. See you later.

(2) You are talking to one of your neighbors in your front yard on a Sunday morning. He or she says, 'I'd better go now'. An appropriate reply is:

A. Keep in touch.
B. Bye. Nice talking to you again.
C. Thank you for your time.

An alternative exercise, 'What Would You Say?' is to ask the student to respond with an appropriate reply according to the given situation, such as:

(3) This is your first day of work. A coworker just asked you to have a cup of coffee with her. What would you say?

Cued Dialogues

In this activity, two students are each given a cue card with the situation specified like the one below. The students have to create a socially acceptable conversation by following the steps as specified and apply what they have learned about the commonon formulaic expressions and the rules of politeness.

Situation: A and B are good friends. A sees B in a new car parked in front of the office. A begins to talk with B.

A	B
1. greets B	1. returns greeting
2. compliments B on the new car	2. accepts compliment, tells when the car was bought

3. gives preclosing of the conversation	3. replies to preclosing
4. closes	4. replies

Many foreign students lack the competence to contribute something substantial to a conversation. The native speaker is often expected to carry the conversational load, while the foreign student replies to his question with a minimum of information and kills every topic quickly. Here is an example:

A: Hello. Where are you from?
B: From Taiwan.
A: Oh, Taiwan. Why did you come to California?
B: To study.
A: Oh, what are you studying?
B: Food science.
A: How long have you been here?
B: One year.

This is really a boring conversation. In order to improve this aspect of conversational incompetence students need to practice in contributing material to a conversation and taking responsibility for developing a conversation. Holmes and Brown (1976, p.428) suggest an activity to develop students' sociolinguistic competence in this respect. That is, when asked a question the student not only answers the question but also has to ask about something related to the answer, or give some extra information and then ask an appropriate question: e.g.

1. A: Where are you going to study?
   B: In Auckland. Can you tell me what the climate is like there?
2. A: Are you a student?
   B: Yes, I've come to study commerce. Are you a student?

Here are two sample exercises:

1. A: Where are you studying?
   B:
2. A: How do you like the climate here?
   B:

Roleplays

Role-playing is one of the best ways for creating varied forms of realistic social interation in the classroom. In a roleplay each student is assigned a fictitious role and the relationship with his/her partner or partners in an imagined social setting. Besides the roles and the social setting, a good format for a roleplay also suggests useful expressions for students to use. According to Paulston and Bruder (1976, p.71), it is occasionally necessary to give students some social background knowledge before a roleplay, because it is no good at all to ask students to act out roles which demand a general social knowledge they don't have. Role-playing can be very simple or elaborate, and controlled or creative (e.g. from performing memorized dialogues to improvisation). It is determined by the level of students' language proficiency. What is important for developing students' competence in social interaction and politeness strategies is to incorporate into a roleplay as much sociolinguistic information as possible. Here is a mini-role play by Tillitt and Bruder (1985, p.44):

Mini-roleplays

Directions: Discuss the situation with your partner and decide on the proper level of formality. You can use the suggested expressions if you want to. Then practice. When you are ready, perform for the class and discuss your performance with your teacher and classmates.

Roleplay: X needs someone to babysit while he or she goes to a doctor's appointment. X calls friend Y and asks Y to do this favor. Y either agrees to do it or refuses to and gives the reason. After arrangements are made, they say good-bye and hang up.

Useful expressions:

X

1. doctor's appointment at _____o'clock
2. really would appreciate the favor
3. shouldn't take more than _____ minutes

Y

1. what can I do for you?
2. always glad to be of help
3. what are friends for?
4. sorry, but I've got to...

Below is an example of an elaborate roleplay.[36]

Buying A House

Situation: Mr. and Mrs. Smythe are interested in buying a house in Pittsburgh, as Mr. Smythe's company has transferred him from the San Francisco office. They are being shown a house in Shadyside by the real estate agent. The Smythes have three children aged 4, 12 and 14, two dogs and two cars. The house they are looking at is a four bedroom home with a small yard and a single garage. Between them, the couple must decide whether they will buy the house or not.

Roles: Mr. Smythe —

very anxious to find a house because this is the tenth one he and his wife have looked at. He's desperate and willing to compensate for any deficiencies. He wants to buy this house.

Mrs. Smythe —

very particular about what kind of house they buy. She does not want to buy this house and constantly mentions things she doesn't like about it.

Fred Fraudly —

real estate agent, very anxious to sell the house to the Smythes because he gets a big commission if he does. He refutes all of Mrs. Smythe's complaints about the house and tries to convince the couple to buy it.

Useful Expressions:

Mr. Smythe (to his wife)	'There's nothing wrong with this house — let's take it.' 'I'm tired of looking.' 'Don't be so picky. We can fix that.'
Mrs. Smythe (to agent)	'What's the matter with the _____?' 'The____is all wrong.' 'There's no _____.' 'The_____is too____.'
Fraudly	'You won't find a better deal anywhere.' 'There's a_____within walking distance.' 'We'll give you easy terms with only $ _____ down.'

Topics for Discussion:

1. Age of house and type of construction
2. Floor plan
3. Number and size of rooms
4. Yard area and landscaping
5. Neighborhood-facilities, transportation, shopping, etc.

Vocabulary:

- basement
- attic
- closet
- built-in cabinets
- double garage
- central heating and air conditioning
- storage area
- mortgage
- down payment

There is another interesting roleplay activity suggested in Jones and Baeyer (1983, p.7). It is very useful for training students to start and close a conversation. The students are pretending to be at a cocktail party, where everyone stands with a drink, chats for a few minutes to one guest, and then circulates and moves on to another guest. This activity involves the whole class, which is divided into two groups: group A and group B. Group A students should read and perform according to instructions 1 and 3, and group B students read and perform according to instructions 2 and 4:

Instruction 1: You are in group A. Read these instructions carefully. Then get up and start a short conversation with someone in group B. After a short time, end the conversation by saying: 'Well, it's been nice talking to you, but I really have to go now.' Then go to another person in group B and have another short conversation. Continue going from person to person until your teacher tells you to stop. Try different ways of beginning the conversations. This will build up your confidence for the real goal--starting conversations outside the classroom.
When the teacher stops you, look at Instruction 3.

Instruction 2: You are in group B. Read these instructions carefully. In this activity a number of people from group A are going to start conversations with you. Let them do all the work of starting each conversation and finding a way of finishing it. Let them ask the questions.
Stand up now?
After a number of conversations, your teacher will tell you to stop and turn to Instruction 4.

Instruction 3: You are still in group A. This time it's your turn to be silent until someone speaks to you. Stand up and wait for people from group B to start conversations with you. Let them ask the questions and finish each conversation. After a number of conversations, your teacher will tell you to stop. Then there will be time for you to discuss what you did with the rest of the class.

Instruction 4: You are still in group B. This time it's your turn to start short conversations with people in group A.
Try different ways of beginning the conversations. This will build up your confidence for the real goal--starting conversations outside the classroom. End each conversation after a short time by saying, 'Well, I've really enjoyed talking to you, but I'd better get going.'
After a number of conversations, your teacher will tell you to stop. Then there will be time to discuss what you did with the rest of the class.

6.3.4 Improvement of teachers' communicative competence

Besides teaching materials and methods, teachers also play a very crucial role for the success or failure of a language course. In order to conduct a communicative language teaching class, a teacher not only should possess the traditionally recognized qualifications of a good foreign language teacher: being well-informed about different teaching approaches and techniques, having a good command of the target language, and being enthusiastic and knowing how to motivate students' interest in learning the language etc., but also should possess the communicative competence of the target language himself. As discussed in the preceding chapter, one of the reasons that American learners of Chinese perform better communicatively than Chinese learners of English is that the teachers of Chinese in Taiwan are all native Chinese speakers, but the majority of English teachers in Taiwan are non-native speakers of English. Besides, a review of the data I collected from junior high and senior high English teachers indicates that many teachers' proficiency in English is far from perfect. Although they are able to explain the grammar of English adequately. They do not have sufficient sociocultural knowledge concerning the usage of English. I agree with Paulston (1979, p.3) in that 'How can someone who is not fluent himself teach the communicative use of English, let alone its social rules?... A poor teacher of English will teach poorly, no matter what approach he uses... How can a teacher teach sociocultural rules he doesn't know himself?' I was told that in spite of the fact that some communicative approach English texts (e.g. Coffey's Fitting In) provide good exercises and communicative activities, many non-native English teachers are afraid or hesitant to use such texts, because there are no keys to the exercises. The teachers cannot judge whether students' responses are appropriate or not, and he/she cannot help in solving students' communicative problems either.

In order to teach a communicative language class, a teacher should improve his own communicative competence of the target language. However, not only non-native language teachers should acquire knowledge in this respect, some native language teachers should do some reading or research in this respect too, because most of the communicative knowledge of one's own native language is at the subconscious level. Furthermore, a native-speaker teacher of the foreign language should learn the sociocultural rules of students' native language to avoid his own cultural bias and enable him to understand the causes of students' communicative difficulties.

A teacher can learn the cultural background or the sociolinguistic knowledge of both the native and the target languages by taking courses in this area at college or through readings specifically focused on cultural patterns or behavior, sociolinguistic studies and cross-cultural communication (e.g. J. Hsu 1980, F. Hsu 1981, Dil 1976, Samovar, Porter, & Jain 1981, Coulmas 1981, etc.)

A teacher can make himself an amateur anthropologist or sociolinguist by making it routine to be on the lookout for the cultural patterns and social rules hidden behind people's daily conversations, films, or TV shows. To keep a more well-organized and permanent resource, a teacher can write down the observed information and examples in the form of charts. For example, in order to collect patterns of invitations the teacher may write down examples and background information he observes on TV shows using the following chart.[37] A video-tape-recording of the television show is probably even more convenient, for it can be stopped, replayed, and reviewed carefully again and again:

	Examples	One	Two
What was the title of the T.V. program? What type of program was it?	'The Odd Couple' A situational comedy	______ ______	______ ______
What types of people were involved in the invitation scene?	Two men who share an apartment	______ ______	______ ______
Was it a formal or an informal situation?	Informal situation	______	______
How did the person make his or her invitation?	'Hey Felix, do you want to go to the game tonight?'	______ ______	______ ______
Did the other person accept or refuse the invitation? What expression did he or she use?	He declined the invitation. 'I'm too tired, Oscar. Go without me.'	______ ______	______ ______
Did the other person avoid the invitation? What expression did he or she use?	No.	______ ______	______ ______
Did you hear any new expressions for inviting or accepting/declining an invitation?	'Why don't we get something to eat?'	______ ______	______ ______

Another way to help the teacher attain the necessary communicative information for the particular unit he is teaching is through the help of a teachers' manual. The textbook writer does not have to give too many detailed glossaries for cultural information or sociolinguistic rules of language usage in the textbook. Instead, he may include some supplementary information in the teacher's manual to broaden the teacher's knowledge and let the teacher decide how much information to use and in what manner he will incorporate it into the teaching procedure and classroom activities.

The focus of this chapter is on how to teach conversational interaction and politeness strategies in the foreign language classroom. It starts from the theoretical background of language acquisition related to communicative competence, and the discussion of the strengths and weaknesses of the communicative approach, and from there a framework for teaching conversational interaction and politeness strategies is developed. It is hoped that a specific description and logical progression from theory to practice like the one presented may help to verify the feasibility of the approach and methods suggested here and thus bring some specific and substantial improvements in the future as new theories evolve.

Chapter VII

Summary and Conclusion

The general procedure of this study is from theory to practice. In Chapter 2 a framework for conversational analysis is presented, with a focus on Politeness Rules. The basic elements underlying the concept of politeness are 'face' and 'face wants'. A positive polite language expression is one which satisfies the addressee's 'face wants', and a negative polite language expression is one which avoids or minimizes the effect of the face-threatening force of a speech act. The ranking of 'face wants' is by and large correlated with the cultural and social variables of a speech community. Therefore, the norms of politeness are socially and culturally bound. In order to speak appropriately, one has to be familiar with the sociocultural background of the target language. The different linguistic strategies used to express positive politeness and negative politeness are discussed in Chapter 3.

The discussion in Chapters 2 and 3 demonstrates that linguistic variations are social-meaning and personal-attitude carriers. A person may indicate different degrees of politeness, social relationship, and relative status by a proper manipulation of variant linguistic forms, verbal or nonverbal. In order to illustrate the similarities and differences of the norms of politeness and the linguistic strategies utilized in daily conversation in Chinese and English, four cases of polite language usage in Chinese and English are studied and presented in Chapter 4.

Chapters 2-4 demonstrate that politeness is a universal phenomenon. Every culture possesses a large repertoire of verbal and nonverbal strategies to express different types and degrees of politeness. However, different cultures may differ with respect to preference for particular politeness strategies and the exact linguistic forms utilized to show politeness. These differences in linguistic strategies are for the most part due to differences in cultural values. For example, Chinese people in general value deference and formality more highly, while Americans value intimacy and equality more highly, therefore Chinese tend to be more formal and deferential in terms of address to colleagues than Americans. And because of the different concept about privacy, Chinese sometimes show concern in greeting or small talk by asking some questions which are often regarded as too personal by Americans. Although Chinese and Americans show differences in the use of politeness strategies, we may notice that in general there are more similarities than there are differences. Both languages use the same basic types of linguistic strategies, but differ in the priority and frequency of the use of these strategies. Chinese appear to use a greater variety of polite expressions, whereas Americans appear to employ a more confined set of polite expressions. This may reveal that in social interaction Chinese people are more sensitive to their social environment and personal relationships than Americans and this might be correlated with the difference in situation-centered and individual-centered social relationships in these two cultures.

During a face-to-face communication, in addition to a consideration of cultural values, the choice of a linguistic form is also determined by certain social variables: social distance, relative power, the social context and the ranking of specific 'face wants' in the speech community. This confirms the fact that the construction of linguistic forms is not only under grammatical constraints but also under sociocultural constraints.

Chapters 5 and 6 are the application of the cross-cultural analysis of conversational politeness in Chinese and English (which is by nature a contrastive analysis) to the teaching of Chinese or English as a foreign language. Theoretically, it is assumed that language learners' difficulties in learning the target language can be predicted or explained by the results of a contrastive analysis. In order to determine the real communicative problems that Chinese learners of English and American learners of Chinese might have, and discover the reasons behind these problems, a pragmatic failure analysis (which is by nature an error analysis) was conducted, and the result is presented in Chapter 5. The pragmatic failure described in this study is divided into two types: sociopragmatic failure and pragmalinguistic failure. The former is a type of failure that stems from the language learners' unawareness of the different sociocultural rules and different concepts of politeness in L_1 and L_2 societies, and thus apply inappropriate strategies in given social contexts; while the latter arises from language learners' ignorance or unfamiliarity with the linguistic strategies and conventional formulaic expressions of L_2 and thus resort to inappropriate direct transfer from L_1. The main reason for pragmatic failure is that the development of students' communicative competence has not received due attention in Taiwan's foreign language curricula. Neither the textbook nor the teacher has provided students with the necessary information about the rules of language use, or familiarized them with linguistic formulaic expressions necessary to meet different communicative functions in daily conversation. In addition, it was found that many high school English teachers are not communicatively competent enough to handle English easily and competently in class.

From a comparison of first and foreign language acquisition, as presented in Chapter 6, it is stated that children start acquiring communicative competence from early childhood; whereas foreign language learners in general lack the same opportunities to receive adequate in-put to develop their communicative competence. In the remainder of Chapter 6 I have made some suggestions as to when to initiate communicative language teaching and how to help students acquire conversational competence and politeness strategies through syllabus design, classroom activities and teachers' training.

Throughout the discussion in Chapters 5 and 6 I have tried to demonstrate that the purpose of learning a foreign language is to communicate effectively, and that syllabus design and teaching approach should be geared towards learners' communicative needs. This, however, does not mean that grammatical competence is unimportant, but rather that as important as it is, grammatical competence is the means not the ends of foreign language learning. Language instruction should go beyond the language structure and include also the rules of language use. Being able to communicate effectively and appropriately is not the same thing as being able to speak like a native speaker. The latter usually refers to native-like pronunciation. It is normally impossible and unnecessary for an adult foreign language learner to have a command of totally native-like pronunciation, for as it is well known that a slight accent is sometimes a passport to being forgiven for some behavior or speech faux pas in a foreign country. What is meant by being able to communicate effectively and appropriately is that learners are equipped with the ability to say what they mean and mean what they say, not just what they 'can', for example, to be able to express their appreciation, respect or anger as they intend, and not to innocently be labelled as an impolite person because of a lack of communicative competence.

The entire study, from theory to practice, has tried to demonstrate and illustrate the relevance of sociolinguistic study to cross-cultural communication and foreign language learning. The study of language use can contribute not only to the understanding of the nature of language but also to the effectiveness of foreign language teaching. More systematic cross-cultural sociolinguistic studies, I am sure, will provide better guidelines and reference for textbook designers and classroom teachers.

This study presents a preliminary general comparison of politeness rules and politeness strategies in Chinese and English. More extensive research needs to be conducted in the future. For example, a more rigorous or empirical treatment is required for each case of polite language usage reported in this study. Other aspects of politeness phenomena not covered in this study, such as nonverbal expressions, prosodic features, introduction, invitation and turn-taking in a conversation, are also very interesting and deserve special study. Conversational analysis is still in its infancy and language politeness is a rich field for further research. The framework presented here is clearly in need of refinement and a more detailed empirical validation when more research becomes available for comparison and verification.

Notes

1. The terms 'Rules of Clarity' and 'Rules of Politeness' originated in Robin Lakoff (1974), but Lakoff's Rules of Clarity, in turn, follow from Grice's maxims of conversation, which are the four categories underlying Grice's Cooperative Principle (1968).
2. This example of 'conversational implicature' is taken from Brown and Levinson (1978, p.63).
3. For a more detailed discussion of 'conversational implicature', see Grice (1968), Leech (1983) and Tang (1985).
4. 'Face' in Chinese actually refers to two slightly different concepts, mianzi and lian. According to Hu (1944), 'mianzi is the self-esteem or worth which a person claims for himself, by virtue of the position he occupies in his social network. Lian, on the other hand, is a moral face, representing both a social sanction enforcing moral standards and an internalized sanction.' Thus lian is based on judgment of moral character and mianzi judgment of amoral aspects of social performance (cf. Huang 1984).
5. I used Brown and Levinson's terminology of 'positive politeness' and 'negative politeness', but define them a little bit differently. According to Brown and Levinson (1978, p.75), 'Positive politeness is oriented toward the positive face of H, the positive self-image that he claims for himself. Positive politeness is

approach-based; it 'anoints' the face of the addressee by indicating that in some respects, S wants H's wants (e.g. by treating him as member of an in-group, a friend, a person, whose wants and personality traits are known and liked... Negative politeness, on the other hand, is oriented mainly toward partially satisfying (redressing) H's negative face, his basic want to maintain claims of territory and self-determination. Negative politeness, thus, is essentially avoidance-based, and realization of negative-politeness strategies consist in assurances that the speaker recognizes and respects the addressee's negative 'face wants' and will not interfere with the addressee's freedom of action' (1978, p.75), and 'Negative face is the want of every competent adult member that his actions be unimpeded by others.... Positive face is the want of every member that his wants be desirable to at least some others.' (Ibid., p.63)

6. The terms 'bald on-record strategies' and 'off-record strategies' are borrowed from Brown and Levinson (1978).
7. Tannen (1984, p.193) comments that American women in general are not as direct and outspoken in speech as men are, and they more often realize that much of what is meant cannot be said outright. In most parts of the world women usually use more polite forms of language than men do. This is true in Chinese society and American society (cf. Lakoff 1975, Key 1975, and Shih 1984).

8. Carrell and Konneker note that there is the possibility of differentiating politeness among modal verbs themselves, and yet these are not considered in their paper, because their paper deals with syntactic rather than semantic markers. Besides, 'please' and other lexical distinctions were omitted from consideration in the eight scale distinction, again because of their exclusive treatment of syntactic markers (1981, p.21).

9. There has been a long process of change in the usage of second person pronouns in English. Before the Norman Conquest, 'ye' was the second person plural and 'thou' the singular. 'You' was originally the accusative of 'ye', but in time it also became the nominative plural and ultimately ousted 'thou' as the usual singular. In the thirteenth century, 'ye' was used as a polite form. In the seventeenth century, there was a great controversy over the use of the familiar and the polite form in English, especially among religious societies. Among members of the Religious Society of Friends, 'thee' was reserved for insiders, and 'you' for outsiders, and 'thou' gradually disappeared. But today only 'you' survives in English (Brown and Gilman 1960, pp. 266-268). The reduction to a single 'you' in modern English means that the semantics of solidarity and power now lies elsewhere, such as the use of first names and titles rather than in the realm of pronoun usage.

10. Most of the European languages make the familiar-polite distinc-

tion for second person pronouns, and this distinction is called the T-V distinction by Brown and Gilman (1960):

	Familiar (T)	Polite (V)
French	tu	vous
Italian	tu	Lei
Spanish	tu	usted
German	du	Sie
Dutch	jij	u
Swedish	du	ni
Norweigian	du	De
Greek	esi	esis
Russian	ty	vy

(From Trudgill 1974, p.106)

11. This example is so well-known that it appears in at least three studies, for example Ervin-Tripp (1969), Chaika (1982), and Farb (1973).
12. The term 'milk name', or 'pet name' is adopted from Y.R. Chao (1956).
13. The rules for the usage of surnames in England vary greatly from those in America. For example, in upper-class boarding schools in England, boys and some girls address each other by SNs alone. In some universities and other milieux affected by public school usage, the intimate address forms between acquaintances and colleagues are also SNs rather than GNs. Women usually do not use their SN as an address form. (Ervin-Tripp 1969, p.230).

14. There are, however, some restrictions on the use of GN in the United States as described in Hook (1984, p.186). 'One may readily use GN with everybody except: with an adult (if one is an unrelated child); with an old adult (if one is markedly younger); with a teacher (if one is a student); with a clergyman or religious (particularly Roman Catholic and Orthodox); with a physician. If one is a mature adult, one may use GN with everybody except: a markedly older person; a clergyman; a physician. If one is an elderly person, one may use GN with everybody except a clergyman; a physician. If one is a physician, one may use GN with everybody. These rules may be broken for the purpose of exercising power, but only at the risk of censure.'

15. For some Americans, however, responding to a compliment with 'thank you' is regarded as a covert gesture of modesty, for it helps to close the compliment dialogue and avoids an elaboration of the compliment.

16. This example and the comments were supplied by Dr. A.G. Osburne. She happened to overhear this conversation and noted the intercultural misunderstanding when she was in Taipei attending the U.S. Faculty Chinese Cultural Seminar in 1983.

17. Again, this example was provided by Dr. A.G. Osburne.

18. The instructions to the questionnaire were borrowed and adapted from T. Nash (1983), but the approach I used was different

from his. He used the improvision method to elicit the data. The reason I used his instructions is because they provided an excellent situation. By using a similiar questionnaire, I could compare my results with his. The results of both studies confirmed the fact that Chinese use more off-record strategies, and Chinese in general are more indirect than Americans in the use of requesting strategies. For details please refer to his article.

19. This applies to a rejection of an invitation too. To turn down an invitation is not very polite in Chinese society unless one has a very good reason, such as being sick or out of town. When someone invites you to a dinner party that means he likes you or respects you (i.e. giving you 'face'). To turn down such a favor, especially if you are a person of high status, may imply you look down upon him or you don't give him 'face' and thus offend him. This makes many people force themselves to accept endless invitations.

20. This analysis is by nature a kind of error analysis, but instead of using the term 'pragmatic errors' I have adopted Thomas' (1983) terminology 'pragmatic failure', in order to avoid the possible association of a clear-cut right-or-wrong judgment, which occurs with grammatical, lexical or pronunciation errors.

21. For this I owe a great deal to Ms. Dorothy Conyers who spent thirty hours and Miss Julie Wess who spent twenty hours in correcting those papers.

22. No statistical frequency analysis of the pragmatic failure is included in this chapter, because it will go beyond the scope of the present chapter. It requires a seperate, independent study based on a more limited areas of PF, and I hope I can carry on a further study in this direction in the future.

23. When being asked to make a choice between two or more kinds of beverages or food, very often in order to show modesty a more conservative Chinese would choose the less expensive one, rather the one he really prefers. The host should know this possibility and suggest the more expensive one to make sure which one the guest really likes.

24. This was a true experience which happened to Dr. Jack Estes, a visiting professor at National Taiwan University during 1983-1984. 'Title + First Name' is an address form used in the south of the United States, and connotes careful intimacy to an elder or superior (cf. Hook, 1984:188), and one well-known example is 'Miss Ellie' in the TV series 'Dallas'.

25. Many Chinese learners think the distinction between 'aunt' and 'auntie' in English is like that between bwo-mu (伯母) 'the wife of one's elder uncle' and a-yi (阿姨) 'the sister of one's mother'. When bwo-mu and a-yi are used to address one's parent's friends, traditionally the former is used to someone who is older than his/her parent, while the latter to someone who is younger than his/her parent. Since as mentioned earlier people nowadays like

to look young and to be addressed as young, a-yi has become more popular than bwo-mu. Following the Chinese pattern of address, a Chinese may ask his/her child to address his/her American friend by 'auntie'. However, 'auntie' in English does not have the same meaning as that in Chinese; it is usually used by little children only. Big children would use 'aunt' instead.

26. There is a growing interest in the study of formulaic expressions, but it has been referred to by various terminologies in the literature, for example, 'social expressions' by Kettering (1975), 'politeness formulas' by Ferguson (1976), 'routine formulae' by Coulmas (1979), 'conversational routines' by Coulmas (1981), 'formulaic expressions' by Tannen and Öztek (1981) and 'linguistic routines' by Laver (1981).

27. In Taiwan, 'bye-bye' has become a popular form in casual conversation, especially among young people and children, even in a conversation carried on in Chinese. It seems that it conveys a greater degree of intimacy than the Chinese counterpart of parting expressions. However, I was informed by native American speakers that 'bye-bye' is not a common form in the United States but only occasionally heard among little children, so the first time they heard it in Taiwan, it sounded like baby-talk. Since they have heard it so frequently in Taiwan, they are used to it now, and have started to use it themselves.

28. Among these response expressions to attention-getting in

Mandarin, the shorter the form, the less formal and deferential it is. For example, among them you she-me shr ma? (有什麼事嗎?) is the most polite, and dzwo she-me (做什麼) and gan-ma (幹嘛) are the least formal and polite form, especially gan-ma, which is only reserved for close friends or family members.

29. For more details on the meaning and use of modal auxiliaries and particles in Mandarin Chinese see Chao (1968), and Li and Thompson (1981 and 1983).

30. Keller and Warner (1976, 1979) present 500 gambits in their series of volumes of Gambits. They divide them into four types: openers, links, responders and closers. They include actually not only the transitional expressions but also the formulaic expressions. In the present article I only call the transitional expressions 'gambits'.

31. The explanation about the meaning and usage of ni hau ma 'How are you?' in No. 16 of Lesson One is contradictory to the intuition of many Chinese native speakers I checked with. The note reads like the following:

> Conventional greetings are also expressed without a question particle. Three of the nine possible statements from Substitution Table 1, on page 7, for example, though have the form of statements, would be understood in a conversational setting as questions:

ni-hao?	How are you? (singular)
nin-hao?	How are you? (polite form)
nimen-hao?	How are you? (plural)

No native Chinese that I checked with would regard the above three forms as questions.

32. For a detailed discussion of the theoretical bases of the communicative approach, see Canale and Swain (1980), Brumfit and Johnson (1979), Munby (1978), and Kuo (1985a).

33. According to Kuo's "The Learners' Needs Survey for the English Course", done at National Chio-Tung University, it is found that 'being able to carry on a conversation in English with foreigners' and 'being able to read English articles of one's specialized field' are the two most important abilities that the students there would like to possess for present purposes, and for the future the ability 'to carry on a conversation with foreigners in English' and 'to express one's emotion and opinion in English' are ranked number one and two respectively (cf. Kuo 1985b). Besides, according to Lai (1984) and Huang et al. (1985), the sophomores and juniors of senior high schools generally regard listening and speaking skills as the weakest parts of their general English ability, and they hope they may receive more training and practice in these two skills in English class. All these surveys and studies indicate that although English learners in Taiwan do not have many opportunities to speak English with foreigners, they all hope to have the ability to carry on oral communication in English.

34. To avoid too much repetition in the following discussion of

communicative activities, only examples from English are given for illustration. No examples from Chinese are given, because it is assumed that these activities can be applied to Chinese (and actually any language) as well.

35. Besides structured and semi-structured situations, Kettering also suggests situations for unstructured dialogues, like the one below. However, this kind of activity is classified under the category of 'roleplays' in this study, so it is not listed under the section of 'Formulaic Expressions and Dialogues'.

Unstructured

1. You are leaving the University and may never come back. Say goodbye to the Department Chairman whom you don't know very well.
2. You are talking to Bob and suddenly you remember you have an appointment in five minutes.
3. You are in a hurry. You see Maria, your classmate. Maria is very pretty and you want to talk with her but don't have much time.
4. Professor Davis is helping you with an assignment and it is late. Tell him goodbye and thank him for his help.
5. Greet your good friend Maria. You haven't seen her for several weeks.

36. This roleplay is quoted from Paulston and Bruder (1976:71), which in turn was originated by Hoover (1974).

37. This chart and the idea of recording information and examples from television shows is borrowed from Coffey (1983), who suggests it as a communicative exercise for students. That is,

the students are assigned to watch situational television shows at home for at least one hour and write down the information on the chart. This activity, I think, is not only good for students, it also wroks very well for teachers who want to raise their own communicative competence.

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APPENDIX I

Situational Dialogues (A):

A survey of Conversational Strategies Used by American Learners of Mandarin Chinese

During class please find a partner and perform the following roleplays in Chinese according to the situations described. Record them on tape or write short dialogues in Chinese (you may use Chinese characters or any form of Romanization) with five or six exchanges for each. Make the dialogues as natural as possible and in the way you think is appropriate in the Chinese society. If you choose to improvise the dialogues in written form, write them as quickly as you can without worrying about making any mistakes or discussing them with others or looking at a book. Include forms of address or nonverbal expression in the dialogues, if there are any. Please record or write down your age, sex, the length of time you have studied Mandarin and how long you have been in Taiwan. Thank you for your assistance and cooperation.

Situations for dialogues:

1. Two coworkers meet on Monday morning after a long weekend. They greet each other and make small talk.
2. Two friends run into each other on the street. They exchange greetings and make some small talk.
3. Two middle-aged neighbors know each other pretty well. They run into each other in their neighborhood. They exchange greetings and talk for a little while.
4. After having a dinner at your friend's or colleague's home, you are preparing to leave. What would you say to the host and/or hostess and how would he/she respond?
5. Suppose your next-door or upstairs neighbor turns the radio on too loud very late in the night, and you cannot sleep or concentrate on your work. How would you proceed to talk to him politely about turning it down? Write down the whole

conversation.

or: (You have to hand in a typed report tomorrow morning. Your typewriter is broken. You want to borrow one from your friend and use it at home tonight. Describe the conversational exchanges.)

6. You go to your boss's office to invite him/her to your home for dinner this Saturday night. What will the whole conversation be like? This invitation is issued in formal terms.

7. You telephone your good friend to invite him/her over to your home for dinner on Saturday night. What would the whole conversation be like?

8. Your friend or colleague is going downtown (or to the post office) now. You want to ask him/her to get something or do something for you. How would you make the request and how would he/she respond?

9. You visit your friend at his/her home for the first time. He/she offers you something to drink, and you respond with an acceptance or a refusal. You make some compliments about his/her home or something else.

10. Two friends who haven't seen each other for a long time run into each other at a restaurant. One of them is having dinner with his colleague. After exchanging greetings with his friend, he introduces his colleague to his friend.

Situational Dialogues (B):

A Survey of the Conversational Strategies Used by Chinese Learners of American English

請根據下列描述的情境在教室中找一個同伴用英語對話演出。或者自己根據下列情境編寫簡短的英語對話。每個對話約略五、六句。請依照您認為最適當的英語交談習慣，以最自然的方式演出或編出對話。若是用編寫的，則以口語的方式以最快的速度寫下。不要顧及文法或拼字錯誤，也不要與他人討論或參考任何書籍。對話中若有必要，請也包含合適的稱呼或手勢表情。謝謝您的協助與合作。

對話的內容情境：

1. 在三天的週末假日後，兩位同事禮拜一相遇，從打招呼、寒暄到再見的對話。
2. 兩位朋友在路上相遇，打招呼及寒暄的對話。
3. 兩位中年，交情不錯的鄰居在住家附近相遇，他們打招呼及寒暄的對話。
4. 到朋友或同事家參加晚宴。飯後，時候不早了，想告辭，主客之間的對話。
5. 假如你隔壁或樓上的鄰居夜深了，收音機的聲音仍開得很大，使你無法入睡或專心工作。你過去他們家勸他們把聲音關小一點。你如何以較客氣的方式與他們交談。

   或者：（你明天必須交一份打好的報告，結果你的打字機今天壞了，你想向你的朋友借一部回去今晚用，你怎麼開口、他怎麼回答？）
6. 你想邀請你的老闆或上司這個禮拜六到你家吃飯，你到他的辦公室當面邀請。請寫下邀請交談的經過。
7. 你打電話邀請你的好友這個禮拜六晚上到你家吃飯，你們交談的經過。
8. 聽到你的朋友或同事現在要到城中心（或郵局）去，你想拜託他幫你買樣東西或辦件什麼事。你們的交談經過。
9. 你第一次到一位朋友家拜訪。到了朋友家，主人請你喝飲料，之後你稱讚主人的房子、佈置或其他之事物。主客交談的經過。
10. 兩位朋友很久沒見過面，在一家餐廳不期而遇。其中一位正與他的同事一起在用餐。他與好友招呼後，介紹他的同事與他的朋友相認識。

APPENDIX II

Common Formulaic Expressions and Gambits in English*

(The expressions in each section below are generally arranged according to the degree of relative formality.)

1. INTRODUCTIONS

Introducer	Response A	Response B
I'd like to introduce Henry Cheng.	How do you do?	How do you do?
I'd like to introduce Marie Brandon.	Glad to meet you.	The pleasure is mine.
I'd like you to meet Patricia Murphy.	Nice to meet you.	Nice to meet you.
I'd like to introduce Tony Angelo.	Pleased to meet you.	Glad to meet you.
I'd like you to meet Akiko Sato.	Nice to meet you.	I've heard so much about you.
This is Ali Hassan.	Hello.	Hi.

2. PARTINGS

Saying Goodbye	Response
Good-bye.	Good-bye.
Good-night.	Good-night.
Have a nice weekend.	You, too.
Talk to you later.	Bye. Take it easy.
See you later.	So long. Take care.
Bye.	Bye.
Catch you later.	See you.

3. INVITATIONS

Making Invitation	Accepting	Refusing
I'd like to invite you to dinner this Saturday.	Thank you. I'd love to.	I'm awfully sorry, but I have other plans.
I'd like to invite you to a party next Friday.	That would be wonderful.	I wish I could, but. . .
		It's very kind of you to invite me, but. . .

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* Many examples in this appendix are taken from Tillitt and Bruder (1985).

I was wondering if you'd like to. . .	Yes, thank you. What time?	I'd really like to, but. . .
We're going to have a few friends over on Wednesday, and we'd love you to come.	I'd like that very much.	I would like very much to go but. . .
Are you free on Saturday? Would you like to. . .	Thanks. I'd love to.	Sorry. I've already made plans for Saturday.
How about dinner?	Sounds great.	Can I have a raincheck?
How about coffee?	OK.	Thanks but. . .
Let's go to our place for a beer.	All right.	Oh darn! Have to. . .

Making a Non-invitation

You'll have to come over again sometime.
We'll have to get together again soon.
If you're ever to New York, look me up.
If you're ever in Pittsburgh, give me a call.
If you're ever in this area, come and visit.

4. COMPLIMENTS

Compliment	Response
You look very nice (handsome, pretty) today.	Thank you.
Your apartment is lovely (beautiful, very nice).	Thank you.
Your speech (presentation, class) was excellent (good, impressive)	Thank you. (It's nice of you to say so).
The dinner was delicious (very good).	Thank you. (I'm glad you liked it).
The party (reception) was great.	Thank you. (I'm glad you enjoyed it).
I think your hair is very nice.	Thank you, but it really isn't anything special.
I just love you. . .	Thank you. Yours is even nicer.
The chicken is delicious.	I'm glad you like it.
I really like your. . .	I'm glad you like it.
This cheese is super.	Thank you.
That's not a bad bike you've got.	Thanks.
You look beautiful.	Oh! I do? Thank you.
You look terrific.	You're kidding.
That's nice.	Yours is nice too.
That's neat.	Thanks.

5. GRATITUDE

Expressing thanks	Response
I'm very grateful for. . .	You're very welcome.
I'm very grateful for. . .	You're quite welcome.
I'm so grateful for. . .	You're entirely welcome.
Thank you very much for. . .	Don't mention it.
Thank you so much for. . .	You're welcome.
Thank you for. . .	It was my pleasure.
That was nice of you. Thank you.	Don't mention it.
That was nice of you.	You're welcome.
Thank you. But you really shouldn't have. . .	Well, I just wanted to show my appreciation for. . .
They're beautiful! But you didn't need to (give me anything).	But I wanted to. You're welcome.
Thanks a lot for. . .	Sure.
I really appreciate . . .	It was nothing. What are friends for?
Thanks! Thanks (a lot) for. . .	Don't worry about it. No problem. Any time.

6. APOLOGIES

Apology	Response
Forgive me. I'm terribly sorry about. . .	That's quite all right. I understand completely.
Please accept my apologies for. . .	You really don't have anything to apologize for.
Please excuse my dog.	You don't need to apologize.
I would like to apologize for. . .	I wouldn't worry about it if I were you.
I apologize for. . .	Oh that's all right. It can happen to anyone.
Please forgive me.	It's not your fault.
I'm sorry. I didn't mean to. . .	Don't worry about it. That's OK.
I'm sorry.	It's OK.
Oh! Sorry!	No problem.
Sorry about that.	Sure. It's all right.

7. ATTENTION-GETTING

Getting Someone's Attention	Response
Excuse me Pardon me } (Sir/Ma'am/Miss)	Yes? What can I do for you?
Excuse me Pardon me } + (Title + Surname)	Yes? (Can I help you?)
Oh. Miss?	Yes? (Can I help you?)
Sir?	Yes? (Can I help you?)
Excuse me, Bill.	Yes?
Hey, Beth.	Yeah?

8. INTERRUPTIONS

Interrupting	Response
Excuse me Pardon me } (for interrupting), but. . .	How can I help?
Pardon the interruption, but. . . I'm sorry to interrupt you, but. . . I don't want to interrupt you, but. . . I hate to interrupt, but. . . I'm sorry, but. . .	It's all right. What can I do for you? It's OK. It's all right.
Excuse me, but. . .	
Am I interrupting?	We were just finishing. We're just chatting.
Can I interrupt a minute?	Sure.

9. CHANGING THE TOPIC

Which reminds me. . .
That reminds me. . .
To change the topic. . .
And have you heard that. . .
Oh, by the way. . .
Come to think of it. . .
Oh, before I forget. . .

10. ASKING SOMEONE TO REPEAT

I beg your pardon?
Would you mind repeating what you just said?
Could you please repeat that?
Would you say that again, please?
Pardon me?
Excuse me?

(I'm sorry) I didn't hear that.
(I'm sorry) I didn't catch that.
What did you say?
Sorry?
What?

11. PRECLOSING

Thank you for calling.
It was nice of you to call.
I won't take any more of your time.
Thank you for your help.
I've enjoyed talking with you.
It was nice talking to you.
Thanks for coming.
Thanks for your advice.
It was nice to see you.
I know you're busy. . .
I'll let you get back to your work (dinner).
I'd like to talk about this some more, but. . .
Well, it's getting late.
I've got to go now.
Got to go now.

APPENDIX III

Common Formulaic Expressions and Gambits in Chinese

(The expressions in each section below are generally arranged according to the degree of relative formality.)

1. INTRODUCTIONS

介紹語	甲之應答語	乙之應答語
我來替你們介紹一下，這位是甲（加頭銜或與介紹人的關係），這位是乙（加頭銜或與介紹人的關係）。	您好，久仰久仰。	幸會，幸會（遞上名片）請多多指教。
	久仰久仰，（遞上名片）請多多指教。	不敢當，我早就久仰您的大名。
來來來，讓我給您們介紹一下，這位是×××小姐，這位是×××先生。	幸會。	您好。
甲我介紹一位朋友跟你認識，這位就是我常跟你提起的×××，乙這位是×××。	久仰，×××（介紹人）常跟我提起您。	眞的啊？眞高興今天有機會認識您。
	您好。	您好。
我跟你們介紹，這是甲，這是乙。	你好。	你好。
這是甲，這是乙。	嗨，你好。	嗨。

2. PARTINGS

告辭語	應答語
抱歉，我先告辭了。	再見，慢走。
我先走一步，再見。	再見，不送了。
再見。	好，再見，有空再來。
我走了。	再見。
明天見。	嗯，明天見。
回頭見。	再見。
拜拜。	拜拜。

3. INVITATIONS

邀請語	接受之應答語	拒絕之應答語
經理，這禮拜六想邀請您跟夫人到舍下便餐，不知您是否能賞光？	不敢當，這樣太麻煩您了…那先謝謝您了。	謝謝你，不巧那天我正好有事，實在抱歉。
陳科長，這禮拜六，我請了幾位朋友來家裏吃飯，想請您賞光，不知道您方不方便？	您太客氣了…那天我正好沒事，可以去喔！	非常抱歉，我那天正好有事要到南部去。
王兄，這禮拜六晚上，請了幾位朋友來家裏聚一聚，吃個便飯，希望您也能來。	這怎麼好意思？應該我請你才對呀…（那就恭敬不如從命了。）	眞不湊巧，我已經先跟別人約好了，那只好等下次了。
這禮拜六到我家吃個便飯，有空嗎？	好啊，幾點？	對不起，那天恐怕不行哦，家裏正好有點事。
禮拜六，請幾個朋友來家裏吃飯， 你也來吧！ 要不要一道過來？ 你也一起來，好不好？ 你一定要來哦！	好啊。	不行唸！那天有事，下次吧。
今晚有空嗎？一起去吃宵夜。	好啊，那裏？ 好唸！好久沒聚了。	哎，不行 得趕報告。 太太不在，走不開。

無定期的禮貌邀請語

那天有空，到我們家來坐坐啊！
有空來玩啊！
看那天有空，我們找個時間聚一聚。
那天約幾個朋友，再到我家來嘗嘗我的小菜。
到台北來玩時，別忘了來找我哦。
若你有機會到台南時，一定得到我們家來。

4. COMPLIMENTS

讚美語	應答語
眞的很佩服您… 這場演講精彩極了。 你這次大會辦得很成功。 你眞了不起… 你實在能幹…	您過獎了。 那裏，那裏，不敢當。 那裏，都是承蒙大家的幫忙。 謝謝您的誇獎，還要請您多多指教。
你家眞漂亮。	那裏， 您過獎了。 你家才漂亮呢！ 老房子了，怎會漂亮呢？
你眞是好福氣，兒女個個孝順。	那裏，你們家孩子才令人羨慕呢。
你這套沙發很好看。	眞的嗎？這是我兒子買給我們的。
你這套衣服很別緻。	這是在南昌街買的，很便宜。
你今天氣色很好。	眞的啊？謝謝。
我很喜歡你的髮型。	馬馬虎虎，（這樣比較好整理。）
你菜燒得眞好，比館子還棒。	那裏，隨便炒炒的，請別見笑。 謝謝。不嫌棄就請多吃點。 你眞會誇獎。
哇，這眞漂亮。	還差得遠呢！
嗯， 挺不錯的。 不賴咆。 眞不是蓋的。	好菜喔。 你少來。 算了。

5、 GRATITUDE

感謝語	應答語
您給我這麼大的幫忙，眞不知如何感激報答才好。	那裏的話，朋友嘛，有困難互相幫忙是應該的。
關於這件事，我眞不知道該怎麼謝你才好。	沒什麼，你這麼說，反讓我不好意思。 小事情，不要那麼客氣。 都是自己人，還講什麼客氣話。
那天眞多虧你幫忙 那天還好有你 ，要不然就…	那裏，應該的。 不客氣，不客氣。 小事嘛！還提它做什麼？

眞謝謝你。 謝謝你。 眞不好意思，還讓你… 謝謝。 多謝。 謝啦。	那裏，那沒什麼。 不客氣。 你跟我還客氣什麼？ 嗨，什麼話，還來這一套。 幹嘛那麼客氣？ 小意思。 沒什麼。 免了。

6. APOLOGIES

道歉語	應答語
這件事我實在不知道該怎麼跟您賠罪才好。	沒關係，現在已經沒事了。 小事情，請您別掛在心上。
這件事都是我不好，希望你能原諒。	誰都會有錯，不要放在心上。
實在很抱歉，請別見怪。 請不要介意。	沒事，沒事。 沒關係，我不怪你。
請原諒我… 眞對不起。 對不起。 抱歉。	沒關係。 沒關係啦。 小事，幹嘛還放在心上？ 我都忘了，還提它幹嘛？

7. ATTENTION-GETTING

	引人注意語	應答語
(稱呼)	對不起，我可不可以進來一下？	請進，請進。
	對不起，我可以打擾您一下嗎？	好啊！有什麼事嗎？
	請問，… 想打擾您一下，…	有什麼事嗎？ 有什麼事？ 什麼事？

先生，… 小姐，… （或其他稱呼）	（是！）有什麼事嗎？
喂！（稱呼） 嘿！	幹嘛？

8. INTERRUPTIONS

	打岔語	應答語
抱歉 對不起	我可不可以打個岔？	沒關係，有什麼事嗎？
	我可不可以先問個問題？	好啊！您請說。
	我打個岔。	什麼事？
	打個岔。	
	我先問個問題。	什麼問題？
	可不可以打岔一下？	好啊！什麼事？
	嘿！打個岔。	什麼事？

9. CHANGING THE TOPIC

我想我們換個話題，不要談這些…
對了，這使我想到一件事，…
對了，有件事我差點給忘了，…
說到這個，我倒想起…
對了，趁我沒忘掉前，先…

10. ASKING SOMEONE TO REPEAT

對不起，我剛剛沒聽清楚，能不能麻煩您再說一遍？
對不起，請您再說一遍，好嗎？
你剛剛說什麼？我沒聽清楚。
聽不清楚，再說一遍，好嗎？
聽不清楚，請再說一遍。
什麼？對不起，沒聽清楚。
請再說一遍。
（你說）什麼？
再說一遍。

11. PRECLOSING

不好意思，今天打擾了您這麼久，（謝謝。）
謝謝您今天給了我這麼多寶貴的意見。
我知道您很忙，所以不多打擾了。
好吧！我看大致就先這樣吧！
若沒其他的事，我看今天就暫時這樣吧！
你忙，我想有事我們再聯絡。
好吧！我們 ⎧ 再聯絡。
　　　　　 ⎨ 下次再談。
　　　　　 ⎩ 再聊。
很想再多聊一會，可是…
時候不早了，我還有點事，…
你們慢慢聊，（我有事先走）。
我想我該走了。